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FIVE CENTS

INTERVENTION DEPENDS ON YOU

BEFORE the Court of the Soviet State have appeared eight leaders of the counter-revolutionary "Union of Engineers' Organisation" (otherwise called the "Industrial Party") to answer for their counter-revolutionary crimes. The eight accused are not only persons who had occupied as specialists the most responsible posts in the economic apparatus of the Soviet State, they were also the organisers of a powerful sabotage and espionage organisation and as such have carried through no less responsible commissions. *They undertook the preparations inside the Soviet Union for the international imperialist war of intervention against the Soviet Union.*

The Indictment of the Prosecutor on behalf of the Government of workers and peasants is an historical document of the very greatest political significance. While the post-war revelations on the diplomatic preparation for the world war have so far only afforded us an approximate picture as to how the world war was prepared, it can be said, on the other hand, that this Indictment gives *already now* a clear answer to the question in which every decent worker in the world must be interested, viz., how is the imperialist war, the international armed intervention of counter-revolution, being prepared against the Soviet Union, that is to say, against the working class of the whole world?

The Indictment quotes from the mouth of one of the leaders of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy, the engineer Kalinikov, the following confession:—

"Ramzin announced," says Kalinikov, "that an international commission was set up in the French General Staff under the Presidency of General Janin with representatives from France, Britain and Poland, on the subject of the distribution of rôles in the leadership in carrying through of Russian intervention. This commission decided that France should take the lead in carrying through intervention and that it would prepare and transport war materials and armaments for the armies of intervention. Poland was to take on itself the operative preparations and rôle of vanguard."

The engineer Ramzin, the central leader of the international counter-revolutionary conspiracy inside the Soviet Union, said in his confession:—

"At a meeting with Denisov, Lukomsky and Colonel Joinville, which took place in a private house in Paris between October 5th and 10th, 1928, the chief matter discussed was, as I have already stated, the practical question of the creation of a military organisation of the Industrial Party. Of this I shall not speak here. The negotiations were carried on in Russian as I know very little French. From time to time, Denisov and Lukomsky interpreted what was most important into French. Colonel Joinville was most interested in the possibility of obtaining military reports on the Red Army and in the possibility of securing assistance inside the Soviet Union by means of planned sabotage, etc. General Lukomsky, in reply to my question on the forces available and the plans for intervention stated that the negotiations were not yet concluded, that it was therefore too early to count forces and draw up plans, but that the plan which I had outlined, which had been accepted by the Trade and Industrial Committee, was almost the only one in which there could be no doubt of success, provided the army was well supplied and equipped, and especially if it received active assistance from the Industrial Party and its military organisation, which would be given definite instructions and plans of action."

A third leader in the preparation of the war of intervention inside the Soviet Union, Laritchev, declared in his confession that the Russian counter-revolutionary émigré organisation of the Trade and Industrial Committee, which was in immediate connection with Poincaré and Briand, informed them in the year 1928 that intervention had to be put off until the year 1930, but:

"Nevertheless, the representative of the French General Staff, Joinville, as also Denisov, assured Ramzin in a personal interview that the attitude of the French Government remained unchanged with respect to the support to be lent to intervention, and that the French General Staff was energetically continuing the work of strengthening the military forces of Poland and Roumania. An expeditionary corps of White Guard émigré forces was being formed and prepared."

That this was no empty promise was demonstrated by the armed demonstration of Cossacks in Paris which some weeks ago marched with full military equipment to the grave of the Unknown Soldier.

Among the sponsors of this sabotage and espionage organisation there found a place Messieurs Poincaré, Briand, Loucheur, Churchill, Deterding and the representatives of the French and British General Staffs, not to speak of the Polish General Staffs, the re-

representatives of which naturally found a place in that international committee which was set up in the French General Staff for carrying through the preparations for intervention.

The bands of saboteurs and spies were informed by those who gave them their orders of all the details of the diplomatic and military preparation for the war of intervention. They knew that the year 1930 was the year of intensified fascisation of Finland, Roumania and Poland in the interests of successful intervention against the Soviet Union. They knew that this year would be the time for diplomatic manœuvres which would have the object of accelerating by all means the encirclement of the Soviet Union. These bands of wreckers, as also the French controllers, were naturally enthusiastic adherents of the "pacifist" Pan-Europa plan of Briand for Franco-German rapprochement.

The whole activity of these bands of interventionists and wreckers, their attempts to disorganise Socialist construction in order to pave the way for intervention, proceeded parallel with the *crusade of the Pope*, with the *anti-terror campaign of the Second International* and not least with the *anti-dumping campaign* inaugurated under French leadership. All the events of the world politics, the inner political events in Poland, in the Border States round the Soviet Union (Finland, Latvia, Roumania), in the States of the second border (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia), the negotiations of the German Fascists with their French confrères—all these events confirmed the reports which the leaders of the Industrial Party brought back from their foreign journeys and which they put forward at the sessions of their organisation concerning the plans for preparing intervention.

This is only natural, because without an appropriate division of labour between internal and external preparations, without such "reciprocal information," it would naturally have been impossible properly to co-ordinate the activities of the General Staffs of the imperial Powers and of their Russian saboteur and espionage organisations in the interests of intervention. Only in this way could the imperialist espionage organisations, through their military organisations, move towards the accompaniment of their tasks, tasks which ac-

cording to the confession of the engineer Eyedotov, consisted as follows:—

"The chief aim of the nuclei which were formed was the giving of reports on the conditions and trends of feeling in the Red Army and Fleet, the organisation of measures reducing the fighting capacity of the Red Army, of measures for disorganising communications, of measures diminishing the defensive capacity of the country, the laying idle of building activities in the most important factories and power stations, to obtain influence in the mobilisation department over army supplies and to disorganise these, to effect similar disorganisation in the mobilisation departments of industry."

(Statement made, October 21st.)

After all these revelations what could the press of Briand and Poincaré, thus caught in the act, say in defence? In view of these revelations it was impossible to employ a tactic of silence and to organise a conspiracy of suppression. Consequently, they had to deny everything in the press with the greatest cynicism. The whole thing was declared to be an invention of the Bolsheviks; this was how the *Matin* disposed of the revelations of the leaders of the conspiracy organisation. Monsieur Briand could only stutter in reply to the interpolation of our brave comrade Marcel Cachin. The stuttering master of oratory tried to lie it out just as his press had done. He knew nothing about any plan directed against the Soviet Union and emphasised the correctness of the relations between France and the Soviet Union, in the past, in the present, and in the future. He even made an attempt to play upon his pacifist instrument. *Si fecisti, nega*—if you have done anything—deny it!—so says the old Latin proverb. The activities of Monsieur Briand as politician and advocate afford several such examples in the past where he has employed this guiding principle of the advocate and pickpocket without the least feeling of shame.

The organ of the British Labour Party, the *Daily Herald*, gets Messieurs Urquhart, Deterding and the representative of Armstrong-Vickers to come out against the revelations. They could not find any other more conscientious and unbiassed witnesses than these industrial and financial magnates so closely connected with militarism and the first war of intervention against Soviet Russia, who declared: "We know nothing about any Industrial Party." These gentlemen, who are prob-

ably good Puritans and Protestants, employ the Jesuitical principle in a masterly manner; they keep their souls pure while making a false oath. The Social Fascist press could no more maintain silence over the revelations of the Indictment than could the bourgeois newspapers. They, accordingly, made common cause, as in *Vorwaerts*, with these leaders of sabotage and espionage such as the engineer Ramzin, who have openly declared themselves monarchists. They declared their solidarity with these spies of imperialism no less than with the comrades more closely connected with them in thought, Gromann, Bazarov, and Suchanov or with the Tsarist generals who were shot not so long ago.

The most important thing for them is to maintain firmly all the declarations and decisions of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals and to strengthen their cry that "*war threatens from the East*." The heralds of "No More War" cannot recognise any other war danger than the one which "threatens the civilised world from the side of the Bolsheviks." From Renaudel to Fimmen, from Jouhaux to Otto Bauer, they are all unanimous on this.

The international proletariat must without fail draw an unmistakable lesson from these documents relating to the preparation of the imperialist war of intervention against the Soviet Union, viz., *the counter-revolutionary war of intervention against the country of Socialism, against the Soviet Union, has become a most urgent danger for the whole international proletariat.*

If the counter-revolutionary war has not actually broken out in the year 1930, that is a long way from signifying that the imperialist Powers have abandoned their intentions of converting the frontiers of the Soviet Union into a battle-field for the peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa already in the year 1931. The saboteur Ramzin, already quoted, declares in his confession:—

"By the second half of 1929, news arrived from abroad that it would be impossible to carry out intervention in 1930 and that it was postponed till the following year.

The chief causes for this postponement were: (1) The increased revolutionary activity of the working masses. (2) Complications in the military situation in France in consequence of strained relations with

Italy. (3) Germany's uncertain attitude and the opposed interests of Germany and Poland. (4) The failure of the adventure in the Far East, which proved the difficulties of a fight against the Red Army. (5) The absence of agreement between the chief participants in the intervention.

The somewhat altered plan for 1931 now began to take shape in accordance with the changed general situation. This plan already recognised the small probability of great risings in the interior of the country, especially in the Ukraine, since the counter-revolutionary organisations, for instance, the 'League for the Liberation of the Ukraine' had been destroyed; it also recognised the effect of the general improvement of economic conditions in the coming year. Therefore the new plan put much more serious demands on the inside help to be rendered by the Industrial Party, and stress was laid on diversion manoeuvres, on espionage and on open treachery. In order to weaken the Soviet Union beforehand as far as possible and to compensate in part for the stronger economic and military position of the Union as compared with 1930, the new plan included the economic blockade of the Soviet Union.

The new plan increased to a considerable degree the rôle played by the northern kulaks who were to deal the blow against Leningrad, for now Finland's participation was secured; these operations were to be conducted by land, sea and air forces. The southern group of the Polish, Rumanian and Wrangel troops was to occupy the Ukrainian territory on the right bank of the Dnieper, and then to advance in as straight a line as possible on Moscow. It remained uncertain whether Germany would take part in this operation (although there was a possibility of mobilising considerable numbers of members of the 'Stalhelm' for instance) for Poland was naturally afraid to let German troops march through East Prussia." (Statement made October 16th.)

Better information, both in a military and in a political respect it is not possible to imagine. It must be conceded that these saboteurs and spies were absolutely at home in the fine cat-tails of the political plans and intrigues of the imperialists. What, however, was for them a book sealed with seven seals was the relation of forces of the revolution and the inexhaustible reserves of the country of Soviet dictatorship.

* * *

The world economic crisis of capitalism deepens from week to week, from day to day. It is growing more and more into a political crisis in a whole series of countries, and in the latest period it is beginning to press more and more heavily on the country which has played the rôle of *chief organiser of the war of intervention, viz.: France*. The French pacifist parties, e.g., the Radicals, have already ceased

to chatter about the necessity of diminishing the burden of armaments. Their greatest concern is now to secure participation in the War Cabinet of the interventionists. More than ever it has proved that *the British Labour Government* cannot be regarded in any other light than as a threadbare pacifist cloak for the war preparations of British imperialism. The revolutionary upsurge of the working class and peasantry in Poland threatens the power of *the Polish bourgeoisie*, and the further *pushing forward of Fascism by Pilsudski* cannot even apparently alleviate the crisis. The new Government of King Carol in Roumania is as little able to liquidate the peasant unrest as it has been possible for the Maniu Government to canalise this peasant movement into the limits of Jewish pogroms. The peasant movement threatens more and more the unstable and corrupt State of the Roumanian bourgeoisie. In Finland and in the other *Baltic Border States*, the instigation to war against the Soviet Union is carried on with the most cynical frankness. The *agrarian crisis* and the ever-growing *unemployment* in the States of South-Eastern Europe (Jugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria) is driving these countries in the direction of intervention and war. The *internal antagonisms* in the ranks of the imperialist Powers (Anglo-American, Franco-German, German-Polish and especially the Franco-Italian antagonism) have by no means been removed.

No one who regards himself as an enemy of the imperialist war against the Soviet Union can remain tranquil and inactive because international imperialism, in spite of the Pope's crusade, the anti-dumping campaign, etc., has not yet succeeded in building a complete united front against the construction of Socialism, has not succeeded completely in the economic, diplomatic and military encirclement of the Soviet Union. The pre-history of the last imperialist world war proved that the fronts of the war-making Powers were only finally settled in their entire extent *during the course of the war itself*. The Powers which are most of all and most immediately interested in war are not in the least ashamed of facing the still somewhat hesitant imperialist hyænas *with accomplished facts* through the initiation of the war.

The success of Socialist construction, which has been achieved by the triumphant carrying through of the Five-Year Plan—in spite of Right and Left opportunism, in spite of all kinds of sabotage—has been on such a scale that Comrade Stalin, at the Sixteenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., could declare with complete justification that “*we have entered into the period of Socialism.*”

We must also take note of the far-sighted bourgeois politicians and savants of the capitalist world who are vainly racking their brains in searching for various methods by which they can prevent the diminution of the mass of profits in the growing crisis of imperialist capitalism. In the confessions of the leaders of the sabotage and espionage organisation is reflected in miniature a picture of the whole world situation.

* * *

In this picture from the confessions made, one fact must be especially emphasised. The engineer Ramzin gives as one of the grounds for the postponement of the war of intervention from 1930 to 1931 *the growing revolutionary activity of the working class*.

This accomplice of Poincaré and Briand is correct. The international bourgeoisie in its preparations for an imperialist war of intervention is counting up the great masses of the people, having forgotten the horrors of the imperialist war. They are counting upon the broad masses being so in desperation on account of their misery that they will not be able to imagine that anything could be worse than their present position; but they are not less taking into account the fact that wide strata of the population—the working class, the poor peasantry and the lower strata of the town petty-bourgeoisie—are in the greatest degree discontented and that their revolutionary activity is continually growing. They are aware that in the hinterland behind the imperialist armies there exist to-day something more than only treacherous Social-Democratic Parties, as was the case in 1914. They are aware that to-day there are not only small groups of self-sacrificing revolutionaries who oppose the war, as happened in the year 1914, but that there are great masses under the leadership of the Communist Parties who are attempting to pave the way to the revolution-

any solution of the capitalist world economic crisis.

The international bourgeoisie knows that Lenin's slogan of the *conversion of imperialist war into civil war* has found its way from the first illegal theses into the hearts of the broad masses. They know that outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union there are millions who regard the Soviet Union as their sole fatherland. They know that the risk associated with war is to-day much greater than it was in the year 1914, and that the risk of an anti-Soviet war is especially great for imperialism. They know that war multiplies many times the danger of revolution and that a war against the Soviet Union is an especially suicidal understanding for imperialism.

The Communist Parties stand at the head of the revolutionary working class and peasant masses at this moment, facing *one of their most responsible historic tasks*. They are faced with one of the greatest historical tests. *They must prevent, they must make it absolutely impossible, that the imperialists should realise the plans for intervention against the Soviet Union which have been laid bare.*

The truth that imperialist wars will be inevitable so long as capitalism endures remains a truth. This truth, however, must not be permitted to be a cause for a fatalist-passive attitude of the working class towards the danger of intervention. The international proletariat can abolish for ever the danger of an intervention war against the Soviet Union only through a series of *victorious revolutions*. Nevertheless, *the growth of its revolutionary activity against war and for the defence of the Soviet Union is sufficient in order to prolong the breathing space for Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and in order to assure a more or less peaceful atmosphere for Socialist construction; in short, in order to prevent the outbreak of war.* This is proved by the revelations of Ramzin on the causes of the miscarriage in regard to intervention by the imperialist Powers.

Consequently, it depends upon the international proletariat, and, naturally, in the first place, mainly on its vanguard, the Communist Parties, whether the imperialists will be successful in rushing the toiling masses of the capitalist countries into a new war situation,

whether they will succeed in compelling the workers to accept conditions of serfdom in the factories and transport industry for the realisation of intervention which threatens to perpetuate the slavery of capitalism, and whether the proletariat and the peasantry of the U.S.S.R. will be in a position in the year 1931 to continue their powerful impetus in Socialist construction, or whether instead they will be compelled to take the field, to dig trenches and to transform the productive apparatus of the country into an enormous armament and munition factory.

The leader of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Stalin, declared at the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. :—

"Our policy is a policy of peace and the strengthening of trade relations with all countries. As a result of this policy is seen the fact that we have succeeded in maintaining peace, that we have not allowed our enemies to draw us into conflicts in spite of a number of acts of provocation and of adventurist attempts on the part of the war incendiaries. This policy of peace we will continue to conduct with all our strength, with all our means. We do not covet one foot of foreign soil. But we shall not surrender to anyone a single verst of our own land."

There is not the slightest trace of doubt that the hundred and fifty millions toilers in the Soviet Union regard the words of our Comrade Stalin as their own. There is not the slightest trace of doubt that these masses will defend with their blood what they gained at the sacrifice of their blood in the October revolution and what they have maintained against international counter-revolution and against imperialist intervention, not merely for themselves alone, but for the workers of the whole world.

* * *

It has never been so clear as to-day in the period of the economic crisis of capitalism, and after the revelations of the concrete plans of intervention of international imperialism, that the historic interests of the emancipation of the world proletariat completely coincide with those of the proletariat and peasantry of the Soviet Union and with the interest for preventing at all costs the war of intervention against the Soviet Union. The intensified pressure against wages, the pressure of taxation, the growth of tariff robbery, all serve for

the preparation of counter-revolutionary intervention and for covering its financial costs. The growth of Fascist repression proceeds precisely parallel with the acceleration of the preparations for the imperialist war of intervention. This war against the Soviet Union is being prepared for at the expense of the workers in order then that it may be carried through with the blood of the working class and for the intensification and perpetuation of the suppression and exploitation of the workers of the whole world.

The exposure of the interventionist plans of international imperialism, which has now occurred in a much clearer and concrete fashion than ever before, will, it cannot be doubted, evoke a new wave of resistance, on a wider scale than any previous wave, among all the workers in the world against the imperialist war of intervention. It will immeasurably increase the readiness of the international proletariat to defend at whatever cost its sole fatherland, *the only country of Socialism up to now*. The proletariat, the poor peasant, all the oppressed and exploited will see clearer than ever before that the defence of the Soviet Union springs from the immediate interests of every toiler.

Relying on this fact, the Communist Parties in every country, and especially in the leading countries of imperialist intervention, will seek to apply on the widest possible scale the tactic of the united front from below in order to mobilise the widest strata of the proletariat, of the poor peasantry and of all oppressed and exploited sections of the population against the war of intervention and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The factories, where the workers immediately experience how their whole standard of living is being depressed, will listen to and understand the appeal of the Communist Parties to the masses:—*Organise committees and mass organisations in every factory for the defence of the Soviet Union!*

Organisations must be created in which every decent class-conscious worker, poor peasant and employee can unite in order to oppose and prevent the carrying through of the plans for imperialist intervention. The

Social-Democrats of all kinds, rights as well as "lefts," are already attempting to make light of the exposure of the imperialist plans and of the significance of this exposure and to serve up once again the old bogey stories about the extermination of the Russian intelligentsia. Every Communist must therefore fulfil now with all his force the two tasks:—

(1) *To explain in a popular and universally comprehensive manner the urgency and actuality of the danger of war to the wide masses, including the backward elements and the Social-Democratic workers.*

(2) *To carry through this agitation in such a manner that there results from it an organisational mobilisation of the masses against intervention.*

All platforms at the disposal of the Communist Party must be utilised as completely as possible in order to mobilise the widest masses against the intervention plans of Briand, Churchill, Deterding and the rest, and in order to enable these masses to master the lessons of the trial of the leaders of the "Industrial Party." The Communist fractions in Parliament and the municipalities, as well as the Red trade unions and the revolutionary trade union oppositions, must become real mobilising organs of the Communist Party. It is not sufficient to make a single interpolation, a single speech on behalf of the Soviet Union. *On all Parliamentary platforms, in every Municipal Council, in all revolutionary and reformist trade unions, in all organisations of workers, whether for sport, free-thought or anything else, the revolutionary appeal of the Communists for the defence of the Soviet Union must be repeated over and over again.*

Everywhere where the masses are to be found, everywhere where it is possible to speak to the masses, the slogan must loudly resound: It depends on you, proletariat, poor peasant, oppressed and exploited, it depends on your revolutionary activity whether the imperialists will be able to realise in the near future the plans which have been revealed for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union!

INTERVENTION AT THE BAR OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

BEFORE the High Court of the U.S.S.R. have appeared the leaders of the sabotage and interventionist organisation known as the "Industrial Party."

This was not only a case against the wreckers themselves, but against the bandit imperialism which employed these individuals as their agents.

Before the Court of the proletarian dictatorship the eight accused related in detail their preparations for an intervention against the Soviet Union, naming the actual places, the time and the people who took an active part in planning the conspiracy. They also named those who inspired the movement; the organisers, intermediaries, agents and financial sources of the proposed intervention. Exact descriptions of the plottings, and details of the relations between foreign and Russian counter-revolutionaries were given.

These self-confessed plotters told the Court that *when they became convinced that the downfall of the Soviet Government could not be brought about by internal counter-revolutionary forces, they rested their hopes on foreign imperialist intervention. To this end, they concentrated their entire internal resources.*

With the help of the White Guard organisations of the Russian émigré class abroad, who are well-remembered by the Soviet workers: the Dennisovs, Riabushinskys, Nobels, Konovalovs, Mantashevs, Krestovnikovs and others, and the Paris "Torgprom" ("Commercial and Industrial Centre") they linked up with the leading circles of French Imperialism (Poincaré, Briand and the French General Staff) who assumed the rôle of chief (but not the only) organisers of the intervention.

These were the men who supplied ammunition and instruction to Fascist Poland, Rumania and the Baltic border States; who planned the interventionist movement and who inspired the work of the wreckers of the "Industrial Party" with the object of creating economic crises, and finally, the complete ruin of Soviet economy to coincide with active intervention. These men planned, to-

gether with their Allies (British, Polish Fascists, Deterding, Urquhart, Vickers and others). The objects of the intervention were the crushing of the Soviet Government and the colonisation of the Soviet Union. They sanctioned the political programme of the "Torgprom"; the methods for the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R., and planned the establishment, after the intervention, of a military dictatorship. They appointed the "White" General Lukomsky as Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Force; they had already fixed the different dates for the intervention. First 1928, then 1930, and finally 1931, the latest possible date; because in 1932, as the representatives of the "Torgprom" said "it would be too late." In this way the wreckers confirmed that the danger of intervention was a very real and *immediate* one.

That the intervention against the U.S.S.R. was being feverishly prepared is no secret to anybody. It was well known how rapidly the big imperialist bandits were arming and how they were arming the Soviet Union's neighbours who were to bring about the intervention. It was well known how military political unions were organised for intervention and how Fascist coups were effected in those countries which were to supply the cannon fodder for the intervention. The "moral" preparations for intervention were made quite openly. A wild campaign was organised against the Soviet Union, and finally there was the campaign against so-called Soviet "dumping," for the economic blockade of the Union as the final link in the interventionist chain.

The *moral preparations* for the intervention were made quite openly—they could not be done otherwise—but the fact that the intervention was planned to take place in the very near future was carefully concealed. And when this was at last made clear by the statements of the arrested wreckers, the chief heroes of the intervention, caught red-handed, shamelessly denied the fact, describing it as a malicious lie of the O.G.P.U. and of Comrade Krylenko: hiding themselves behind a mask of innocence and pacifism.

Who, they said, could believe that they were preparing intervention against the Soviet Union? The French Government has the most "correct" relations with the Soviet Government, declared Briand. Poincaré-la-Guerre declared to the Press that "France gives an example of peace and will continue to move in a peaceful direction." Referring to the reference to himself in the indictment, this apostle of peace declared: "The charge is an absolutely idiotic invention. I have never laid my hand to any conspiracy. There never were any plans for armed intervention in Russia."

Presumably the French intervention against the Soviet Union in 1919-20 was also an "idiotic invention." for then also there were no plans for "armed intervention in Russia," and so also, presumably, was the rising of the French sailors in 1919 when they refused to fight against the Soviet Republic. And another "idiotic invention," doubtless, was the case against Comrade Marty.

In this shameless fashion, Poincaré denies his part in the preparations for intervention and his connection with the "Industrial Party" and the organisation of Russian émigrés, the Paris "Torgprom." The indictment asserts that the Russian Commercial Industrial and Financial Centre has relations with the so-called engineers' organisation (the "Industrial Party") of Russia; that it subsidised the accused and organised the combined work of the accused with the French General Staff in preparing for intervention. All these assertions then are "idiotic inventions."

To their denials the "innocent" White emigrant industrialists add words which sufficiently reveal the facts.

"As a central organisation of the commercial and industrial class abroad, the Russian Commercial, Industrial and Financial Union will continue its tireless struggle against the Soviet Government, to explain to the public of cultured countries the real meaning of events in Russia and to *prepare the future reconstruction of the Motherland* on the basis of freedom and right."

How could these capitalist business men "prepare the future reconstruction of the Motherland" other than by subsidising and instructing the wrecking work of their old faithful servants, and by making use of the

hospitality extended to them by the French Government? They are not church preachers, but unscrupulous, practical business men who for thirteen years now have feverishly and unhesitatingly stooped to any means to get back the factories, workshops and mining wealth of the old Tsarist Russia!

Likewise, Urquhart, Deterding and representatives of Vickers-Armstrong, Ltd., declared in an interview published in the servile *Daily Herald* that they knew nothing about all this: "I am not I, the horse is not mine, and I am not the driver."

The entire bourgeois and social-fascist press behaved and is behaving in the same way. At first it tried to organise a conspiracy of silence in connection with the trial; but when it became evident that it was impossible to conceal the now exposed facts, they began in unison to sweep away all traces of the crime, asserting that it was all an invention of the Soviet Government in order to throw upon the shoulders of the alleged wreckers and interventionists the "failure of the Five-Year Plan"—the very same Plan which the same bourgeoisie have more than once said, and still continue to say, is a threat to the "civilised world"!

This badly-played comedy of the bourgeois and social-fascist press cannot conceal the fact that the publishing of the indictment, *giving the exact names and addresses of the chief war plotters*, made as great an impression on the capitalist world as the bursting of a bomb. In order to begin the bandit imperialist war and especially the counter-revolutionary intervention against the U.S.S.R. (which is regarded by the revolutionary proletariat of the world as the workers' Fatherland), it was necessary to mask themselves, to conceal the concrete preparatory plans so that at the last moment they could bring about some sort of provocation in order to create an impression that it was not they, the robbers of imperialism, attacking the U.S.S.R., but the U.S.S.R. attacking them or their allies or some "weak" States whom it would be their duty to defend in the event of attack.

When giving evidence, the wreckers themselves showed how the "excuses" for the attack on the U.S.S.R. were prepared beforehand; some sort of frontier incident in Rumania or provocation in Lithuania. (These

were to follow the provocation of the Chinese-Eastern Railway incident which failed.)

The trial against the "Industrial Party" wreckers exposed all these careful maskings and laid bare the whole mechanism of the preparation for the intervention. The united efforts of the entire prostituting and lying bourgeois and social-fascist press will not succeed in distracting the attention of the proletarian and peasant masses from the facts brought out by the trial.

Why Are They Hurrying?

Why is the danger of intervention hanging over us precisely now?

The Soviet Union is busily engaged in the work of Socialist construction. In this, there are tremendous obstacles to overcome, such as the economic and cultural backwardness inherited from Tsarist Russia, the desperate resistance of the remnants of the capitalist class and of the liquidated kulaks against collectivisation; the widely-developed wrecking work of the top layer of the technical intelligentsia who are bound by a thousand ties to the expropriated capitalists who escaped abroad; and the counter-revolutionary intelligentsia, cleverly masked, occupying high posts in the Soviet apparatus, who tried to transform this apparatus into tools for the restoration of capitalism.

This tremendous pressure of the class enemies even brings out the wavering of some members of the All-Russian Communist Party, showing them as right or "leftist" opportunists who, objectively, are equally agents of the class enemy inside the Party.

But all this has not succeeded in stopping the victorious realisation of Socialism. Owing to the enormous possibilities within the Soviet Union, to the heroism and enthusiasm of the proletarian masses and to the firm, iron guidance of the Leninist Party, Socialist reconstruction is rapidly going forward, surpassing all rates of economic development ever before known.

The realisation of the Five Year Plan in four years has become to such an extent a real prospect that even bourgeois observers who are at all far-sighted have been forced to recognise it. It is clear that history is working for US, that every year is strengthening

OUR position, at the same time as in the capitalist countries the crisis is deepening. *In the great competition between the Socialist and capitalist systems the former is gaining the upper hand every year.* It is not surprising therefore that in contrast with the Soviet Government which wants peace, the capitalist powers are hurriedly preparing intervention, in order forcibly to destroy our work of Socialist construction.

It is all a question of time. The interventionists decided the most suitable time to be 1930—because this is to be a decisive and critical year for the realisation of the Five Year Plan—because during this year in the U.S.S.R. an enormous amount of capital is being expended, the fruits of which will only be evident later—because during this year the class struggle in the U.S.S.R., *i.e.*, in connection with collectivisation and the liquidation of the kulaks, is taking on extremely acute forms—because during this year could already be seen the serious consequences of the three years' ceaseless wrecking work of the "Industrial Party."

However, as the saboteurs themselves showed in Court, the interventionists were forced, for many reasons (first because they were not sure of their strength at the rear of the capitalist countries, and secondly because of the Red Army which struck such a decisive blow to the Chinese Eastern Railway incident) to postpone the intervention until 1931. In 1931, according to their own admission, the intervention would be much more difficult to carry out, because the hopes of a kulak rising were already losing ground; because the wreckers' organisations, one after another, were beginning to be exposed, owing to the vigilance of the revolutionary O.G.P.U. and to the great watchfulness and care of the proletariat.

The wreckers showed that they and their masters were fully conscious of the fact that in 1931 the realisation of the intervention would be much more difficult than in 1930, but that, all the same, they had to fix this time, because "in 1932 it would already be too late."

As we can see, the wreckers and interventionists had a higher appreciation of the power of the Soviet Government and the depth of the crisis in the capitalist countries, than the right and "leftist" opportunists in the ranks

of the All-Russian Communist Party and the Comintern. Therefore it is timely to say that the "Industrial Party," as the wreckers themselves showed in Court, considered it necessary after the victory of the intervention to establish a military dictatorship, because it realised that the new Government would have against it, not only the whole proletariat, but also the majority of the peasants, and that therefore it could only survive by the bayonets of the foreign interventionists.

Intervention as a Way Out of the Capitalist Crisis

But the fate of the intervention will depend upon the international proletariat, the great majority of whom know, or instinctively feel, that the defeat of the Soviet Government would not prevent the capitalist crisis, but only prolong it; and render it immeasurably more torturing for the proletariat. The masses are becoming daily more and more convinced that the proletarian revolution is the only way out of the capitalist crisis.

In the whole of the capitalist world now, unemployment is raging. The number of unemployed has never been known in history to reach such a figure (25 millions). What is the cure for this unemployment? Soviet Russia has answered the question. In the country of the Soviets, unemployment has already been liquidated and at the present time not only is unemployment unknown, but great difficulty is being experienced in the lack of workers, especially skilled workers, necessary for the tremendous work of Socialist construction.

But this way is closed to capitalist countries. And here the bourgeoisie holds before the hungry workers some glittering prizes. Sir Herbert Samuel, in the House of Commons, supplies the necessity for intervention when he remarks: "Our difficulties arose largely out of the disruption of our distant markets. I have in mind India, China and Russia." In the opinion of this President of the 1925 Coal Commission, "as soon as by intervention we have remedied the disruption" (*i.e.*, the revolutions of India, China and Russia), then unemployment in England will be cured, and everything in the garden will be lovely and endless opportunities will lie before

British capitalism. What employed or unemployed workers except those who have sold their souls to the bourgeoisie, will believe this scoundrelly theory? It is obvious to all that the reason for the chronic post-war unemployment is the conflict between highly rationalised industry and shrinking markets, caused by the post-war *impoverishment of the masses*. Capitalist rationalisation has thrown the workers on the streets and the lowering of their purchasing power eliminates the possibility of industry developing sufficiently to absorb the unemployed.

Can this position be changed by the redivision of the world? Already the experiment of the Imperialist War of 1914-1918 to divide the world, has been tried; but has unemployment been eased, even in the "victorious" countries—in England and America? And what golden vistas would be opened to the unemployed of capitalist nations if the imperialist plunderers succeed in making yet another division of the world at the cost of killing millions of men and impoverishing further hundreds of millions?

An agrarian crisis is raging all over the capitalist world. How can it be overcome? The Soviet Union has answered this question. In the Soviet Union there has been no over-production of grain, but, on the contrary, a deficiency owing to the backwardness and disorganisation of peasant economy. The Soviet Government has overcome this problem by the organisation of collective farms, State farms and tractor stations, and by Socialist reconstruction of the village. This Socialist reconstruction has already increased the sown area and the harvest, and has already made it possible to export grain. Has this improvement in the agricultural economy of the U.S.S.R. brought with it an over-production crisis in the U.S.S.R. and impoverishment of the peasants as in capitalist countries? On the contrary, the percentage of profit from peasant economy has risen, particularly in the collective and State farms. The success of the collectives has convinced the peasants. In the Soviet Union this year, after the harvesting, and after calculating the profits over a period of two months—October-November—500,000 individual peasants have joined the collective farm movement. This is explained

by the fact that the small holdings are being merged into collectives and industrialised, and the kulak class is being abolished.

In capitalist countries, all the equipment which helps to lower the cost of production is in the hands of the landowners and is used to further the exploitation of the peasants. In capitalist countries, the great mass of the peasantry is crushed by competition and the continual fall in grain prices caused by over-production, on the one hand, and by the post-war contraction of the markets and the results of mass disorganisation, on the other. And, in the fear of peasant revolution, capitalism indicates to the peasants as the way out of the agrarian crisis the path of intervention against the U.S.S.R., the country which is alleged to be carrying on so-called "dumping." But intervention can only impoverish additional tens of millions of people, cause further devastation, and doom the masses to still greater privation.

In the whole capitalist world, *the crisis inherent in the system of national and colonial oppression becomes more and more acute.* The U.S.S.R. here also has shown the way out. In the Soviet Union, all the oppressed nationalities of the old Tsarist régime have been given the right of self-government and allowed to develop their national culture. And the economic policy of the Soviet Union is moulded not to exploit but to raise the economic level. This at the same time as Fascist Poland, under the guise of "liberators" of the Soviet Ukraine, is by fire and arms suppressing her own Ukrainian masses. And this way, too, of solving the problem of nationalities is closed to imperialism.

Imperialist France, seeing that the economic crisis is causing cracks to develop in the whole plunder system of the Versailles Treaty, is not only determined not to surrender anything of it, but, on the contrary, in order to save it is organising intervention against the U.S.S.R. in order to crush this country as well. Embarking on the path of intervention, the imperialist plunderers are breaking their own necks, but it is not a bad thing to be aware of what these bandits are dreaming. As was clearly shown by the trial of the saboteurs, they are dreaming of destroying the Soviet power, of dividing the great

country of the Soviets as loot among the interventionists. Poland was to have the right banks of the Dnieper and thus cut off from the Soviets the whole of the rich Ukraine and the Don Basin. France was to have the industries of the Ukraine and Don in return for her help and in settlement of Tsarist debts. The Soviet oil wells were to be divided between British and French imperialism.

This, moreover, is not a new dream. At the time of the first intervention, in 1919, the Embassy of the French Republic wrote to the Archangel White Guard Government:

"The French Government is obliged to take note of the fact that the payment of interest on Russian State debts has ceased. *The French Government has, therefore, the responsibility of regarding the undeveloped wealth of Russia, as well as the sources of profit which can be created, as a guarantee of the State credits on the same basis as State property already existing, as, for example, the railways, ports, mines, timber and so on.*"

These bandit imperialists dream of transforming the Soviet Union into a French colony. It is not surprising that, as can be seen from the evidence of the accused Ramzin, the chief saboteur, that he found it very embarrassing to inform the engineers (who were already entangled in the wreckers' net), desiring "not to wound their patriotic feelings," of the conditions under which the division and looting of the Soviet Union would be carried out by the French Government in agreement with the Russian capitalist émigrés of the Trading and Industrial Centre.

Thus, the imperialist bandits are making ready to dispose of the U.S.S.R.! To get some idea of the manner in which these robbers picture to themselves the prospects of counter-revolutionary intervention, it is sufficient to listen to the American publicist, Randolph Gilbert, who worked out the cost of "successful" intervention into China:

"The suppression of the Taiping rising," he writes, cost 20 million Chinese lives; the suppression of the Boxer rebellion cost one million Chinese lives. *The crushing of the present revolution will cost the lives of 15 million Chinese.*" What does such a trifle as 15 million Chinese lives matter to the representative of the "highest civilised race," when the interests of "commerce" demand it?

The Task of the Communist Parties

To anyone who is not absolutely blind, it should be obvious that in a world where there is raging an economic crisis unprecedented in history, and a furious capitalist offensive, alongside of the booming growth of the Soviet Union and the revolutionisation of the masses in the other countries, so much inflammable material has been accumulated that when the torch of war is thrown, the international proletariat will blow up the whole of this criminal band.

Seeing that the Soviet Union gets stronger and stronger every year, seeing that Socialism in the Soviet Union marches victoriously forward, and seeing that the Soviet Union shows the proletariat, the labouring peasants and the oppressed peoples of the whole world, the sure way, the only way, out of the capitalist crisis, the bandits of imperialism are in a feverish hurry to bring down the axe on the head of the Soviet Union at the same moment as it is drawing the rope round the neck of the masses of the working class and peasantry in their own countries. The intervention against the Soviet Union is regarded as the beginning of a bloody reaction in all the capitalist countries when they hope to stamp out working class revolution once and for all. They will be mistaken—it will be the beginning of their end.

When the indictment against the wreckers was published in the Soviet Union and when the trial began, the revelation of their crimes caused a wave of protest and indignation among the masses. From all parts of the Soviet Union came the news that from innumerable meetings and demonstrations of workers, members of collective farms, poor and middle peasants, as well as from the whole of the young technicians and old engineers, resolutions were received demanding the utmost punishment for the saboteurs and insisting that they be shot.

Simultaneously, as an answer to the criminal intentions of the wreckers, there was a new huge spontaneous impulse given to the shock brigades and the movement of Socialist competition for strengthening economic construction and the defence of the country. This tremendous heightening of the spirit of struggle was caused by the knowledge that the danger of war was near. A similar wave

of resentment is rising in the ranks of the proletariat of the capitalist countries.

It depends upon us, upon the Communist Parties, to see that this wave will rise as high as in the Soviet Union itself. In the capitalist countries, hundreds of thousands of lying and poisonous pens of bourgeois and social-fascist writers are trying to smother the terrible facts exposed by the trial of the wreckers, to distract the attention of the masses and to deceive them. At the same time as they are carrying on this wild campaign against the U.S.S.R. and spreading wild and fanatical rumours and lies, they are assuring the masses within their own countries that nobody has any intention of attacking the Soviet Union. And many workers who read this lying press do not know, do not believe, or at least doubt, that intervention can be so imminent that it was actually timed for 1931.

The Communist Parties, which are leading the movement of protest of the world revolutionary proletariat must redouble their efforts in order to break through this conspiracy of silence and the endeavours to sweep away all traces of this planned crime.

Every Communist must realise that intervention does not concern only the Soviet Union, but that it is a question of intervention against the fatherland of the workers of the world.

The facts of the trial must be brought home to the proletarian masses, to every worker at the bench, and especially to the young workers and women workers who will have to make the greatest sacrifices in the event of an intervention. It must be explained to the proletarian masses that the crushing of the criminal interventionist plans depends entirely upon them.

We have no doubt that when our Communist Parties carry out this task, and they can carry it out, millions and millions of workers in the capitalist countries will raise the threatening, fighting slogan: **HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION.**

Under such circumstances, let the imperialist bandits dare to let loose their fascist bands against the Soviet Union! The fire-brands of counter-revolutionary war will be crushed by the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the international proletariat.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS IS BECOMING A GENERAL NATIONAL CRISIS*

By EUGEN VARGA

THE most decisive problems for our revolution are to-day as follows. Will the structure of the capitalist social order this time also prove to be sufficiently elastic to withstand the shattering caused by the world-embracing economic crisis? Will our Parties be able to lead the dissatisfaction of the broad masses of the toiling population stirred up by the crisis,—workers, peasants, employees and officials,—utilising this dissatisfaction for an assault against bourgeois rule? Will the bourgeoisie be strong enough to ward off this attack?

In order to approach these problems more closely, the question must be put: how will the objective conditions for the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie shape themselves during the further development of the crisis? The answer is unanimous. Never since the years immediately following the war has the domination of the bourgeoisie been so deeply shaken,† the broad masses so deeply embittered, the objective conditions for the struggle against the domination of the bourgeoisie so favourable, as will certainly be the case in 1931! For the transformation of the economic crisis into a political crisis, into a general national crisis, which Lenin laid down as the prerequisite for proletarian revolution, is already in process of taking place.

The economic crisis, which arose on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism, has raged throughout the whole world. It has not spared any country or any branch of production. It scourges the highly developed countries of capitalism just as much as the backward colonial countries. The bour-

geoisie, "organised capitalism," stands powerless before the raging of the crisis.

Nowhere are to be found yet any concrete signs of a beginning of the overcoming of the crisis. The material basis of the crisis, the over-produced stocks of commodities, are absolutely not being absorbed; they are if anything greater than at the outset of the crisis.‡ Production continues to decline. Wholesale prices still fall. Shares are still falling. Unemployment mounts higher. There is nothing to show that the crisis has already passed its lowest point. In the big industrial countries of Europe (Britain, Germany, France, Italy), this is certainly not the case. Any visible improvement in the economic position is impossible before the middle of 1931, and even for the second half of 1931 it is improbable, with perhaps the exception of the U.S.A.

This perspective is politically of the highest significance because it affords the assurance

‡ Stocks at the end of June, 1930, were higher than in the previous year by the following percentages:—
Coal (Germany, Saar, Belgium and Upper

Silesia)	340%
Copper (refined, North and South America) ...	284%
Lead (end of March, U.S.A. and Mexico) ...	-9%
Zinc (U.S.A.)	197%
Zinc (visible world stocks)	76%
Cotton (visible world stocks)	33%
Raw Silk (end of April, Japan)	262%
Rubber (floating—U.S.A., U.K., Singapore and Penang)	52%
Chili Saltpetre (visible world stocks)	39%
Sugar (visible world stocks)	14%
Coffee (Brazil, U.S.A., Europe)	99%
Cocoa (visible world stocks)	13%

Statistics of stocks of finished goods are available only for the U.S.A.; they show the following picture:

Index figures of stocks of goods (1923-25=100)

	June, 1929	July, 1930
Total Goods	122	150
Industrial Goods	121	127
Of which Textiles	125	124
Iron and Steel Goods	139	154
Coloured Metal Goods	122	205
Total Raw Materials	123	132

(Official data of the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of Census, *Survey of Current Business*, August, 1930, p. 24).

* Considering a number of the propositions put forward by Comrade Varga in his article as debatable, the Editorial Board inserts this article dealing with the most important problems of the present phase of the world economic crisis as material for discussion.—(Ed.)

† Already in June, 1930, G. Stolper, a leading bourgeois economic politician, wrote in the *Deutscher Volkswirt*: "It is terrible what hopelessness is seizing ever-wider strata of the population in Germany."

that the process which is at present taking place of the transformation of the economic crisis into a political crisis will not be counter-acted during the next eight to twelve months by a new economic revival. This involves at the same time a further sharpening of the political antagonisms which in its turn will further prolong and intensify the economic crisis (this is already to be seen in the case of Germany, Poland and the revolutions in South America). This signifies that a *general national crisis*, such as Lenin indicated as the pre-requisite for revolution, will inevitably occur in many countries.

We will attempt to analyse the elements of one side of the general national crisis, "*that the upper strata cannot continue to live in the old way.*"

The crisis denotes a diminution of the total amount of surplus value appropriated by the bourgeoisie, for much fewer workers are exploited (even though at higher rates of exploitation). This is equivalent to a diminution of the total profits. The small degree of utilisation of the apparatus of production raises production costs, while prices fall further with every turnover of capital, whereby the realisation of the whole surplus value appropriated in the process of production by the sale of the commodities becomes impossible. The turnover period itself is lengthened by the long duration of circulation which means a diminution of the annual rate of profit, the decisive factor for the capitalist.

Consequently a struggle begins between separate strata of the ruling class for their share in the lessened total profits. This struggle is carried on above all in the form of a struggle for determining the price of individual commodities (the bourgeoisie knows nothing about the sum of surplus value and total profit, it sees always only superficial phenomena).

The industrial bourgeoisie demands cheaper prices for the means of life so that it can still further reduce the wages of the workers. The agrarians are for high prices of the means of life and demand cheap means of production for themselves. The bourgeoisie in the industry producing manufactured goods complains against the cartels of heavy industry that the latter take too high prices inside the country

and support foreign competition by dumping. The industrialists accuse the traders, especially the small traders, of artificially keeping up prices, etc. The opposition of interests between the different strata come sharply to the front in the question of prices, *i.e.*, of the share in profits.

Only one stratum of the bourgeoisie benefits from a fall in prices; it is that stratum which most sharply represents the parasitic character of present-day capitalism, namely, the rentiers, the owners of fixed interest-bearing securities, Government securities, mortgages, preference shares of industrial undertakings. However much the total profits may fall, their income remains unaltered, *i.e.*, their share of the profits becomes relatively so much greater. The rentier burden becomes ever heavier for industrial capital as the total profits become smaller. In many cases, *e.g.*, in the textile industry in Britain, loan capital absorbs the whole profit. Furthermore, the real income of the rentier class also grows parallel with the fall in the price of means of consumption. Hence there is a sharp antagonism between industrial capital and rentier capital.

The share of profits of different strata of the bourgeoisie is dependent in a large measure on the economic policy of the State (tariff policy, tax policy, trust policy). Hence there is incessant friction among the different strata of the ruling class for determination of the economic policy. The result is a *crisis of economic policy*. This makes itself evident in a senseless alternation of economic-political measures: abrogation of Trade Treaties, which are immediately re-announced, alteration (usually increase) of tariff duties several times a year, fruitless attempts to maintain grain prices, premium on export, attempts to build up grain reserves which have then to be given up owing to lack of money, etc.

The crisis leads to a *deficit in the State budget* in most countries. New taxes have to be introduced, old ones increased, officials dismissed, salaries reduced and subsidies cut down. Which stratum has to make the sacrifice? No one is prepared to pay higher taxes from his decreased profits. Everyone wants to push it on to somebody else. The consequence is seen in general dissatisfaction and in-

cessant friction. "The upper strata cannot continue to live in the same way."

The most important factor in the development of the general national crisis is, however, that two extremely important social pillars for the class rule of the bourgeoisie, viz., the peasantry and the labour aristocracy, begin to slip out of the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The crisis endangers the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the peasantry and the possibility of corrupting a wide stratum of the working class.

The agrarian crisis, which has been present since the end of the war as part of the general crisis of capitalism, has experienced an unprecedented intensification during the last years, partly in connection with the industrial crisis. Prices for grain, for textiles, for practically all agricultural products have fallen by 25-50 per cent. in the course of one year. Millions of peasants, burdened with high rents, exorbitant taxation, usurious interest demands, and poorly equipped with means of production, are faced with ruin. The peasants' properties are coming in masses under the auctioneer's hammer by order of the Courts, or the farmers are "voluntarily" deserting the farms, leaving only debts behind. The peasantry is being thrown wholesale into the proletariat or into debt servitude with only a formal maintenance of their independence.

The present agrarian crisis is above all a crisis of the peasantry and not a crisis of "agriculture in general" as bourgeois ideologists maintain. The overseas capitalist big concerns which work with the most modern means of production, tractors and combined harvesters, are able to produce so cheaply that they can make their profits even at the present crisis of grain; hence rapid extension of the cultivated area by big capitalist concerns in the South-West of the U.S.A., in Argentine and in Australia. For the peasants, however, who neither possess the capital to purchase these costly means of production nor still less dispose of sufficient ground to make use of them, for these peasants who are producing foodstuffs for the market with the old methods of production the present level of prices spells ruin.

The stratum of the more well-to-do peasants producing a surplus of commodities for the

market has been up to now the widest and firmest support for bourgeois class rule. As fanatical adherents of peasant private property they are in general supporters of the system of private property as a whole. They represent above all the source from which is drawn human material for the coercive organisations of the bourgeoisie, the gendarmerie, the police and the lower ranks of the standing army. They form the intermediate link between the bourgeoisie and the vacillating mass of the middle peasants. Their influence extends deeply right into the strata of the village poor. The agrarian crisis hits very hard this stratum of peasants who normally produce a surplus of commodities for the market; it shatters their faith in the bourgeois régime, they cease to serve as the spokesmen of the bourgeoisie inside the mass of toiling peasantry who suffer at least equally as a result of the agrarian crisis. *The hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the peasantry is endangered.*

At the same time, the whole peasantry suffers from the very small drop in prices of industrial manufactured goods. The poor peasants, who hire themselves out for wages in order to supplement the income from their holdings, are particularly hit by the lowering of wages and the greatly diminished opportunities for obtaining work. In this way the agrarian crisis opens out a broad path for the Communist Parties to the wide mass of the peasants, impoverishment and embitterment grow greater, the influence of the bourgeoisie grows smaller. *The objective possibility exists to snatch away the working peasantry from the leadership of the bourgeoisie and to win for the proletariat the hegemony in the peasant movement.*

The general crisis of capitalism and the economic crisis sweep away great portions of the colonial profits. The tremendous fall in prices of colonial raw materials has reduced the profits of British, French and Belgian colonial undertakings to a minimum. The depth of the crisis in the colonial countries diminishes the profits of the railways which are predominantly in the possession of foreign capital. The revolution in the colonies, the incessant war which the imperialists are compelled to conduct against the colonial population in India, China, the Far East, and North

Africa diminishes to a considerable extent the plunder which they are able to squeeze out of the colonies "as compensation for good government"!* This many-sided reduction of the colonial super-profits makes it ever more difficult for the bourgeoisie to corrupt big sections of the working class by scattering fragments of these profits among them. The bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries are threatened with the danger of losing the labour aristocracy, their second important social support.

The crisis has caused a marked worsening in the position of the working class. Almost a quarter of the working class in the industrial countries is entirely unemployed, a second quarter is on short time. The bourgeoisie has become incapable, as Marx says, of safeguarding the existence of its slaves even within the limits of their slavery. Nor is that all; in order to raise the level of their shrunken profits, the bourgeoisie conducts a continual attack on the real wages of the proletariat which is still at work. Salaries and wages are reduced, and reduced to a greater degree than the fall in the cost of living.† In this way, the bourgeoisie attempts to increase its profits and to throw the burden of the crisis on to the proletariat. The movement of the proletariat to the left, a general characteristic of the third period, is thereby intensified. The growing resistance of the working masses to the worsening of conditions of labour—in spite of mass unemployment, in spite of the continual betrayal of the Social-Fascist trade

union leaders—demonstrates that "the working class is not ready to live in old way."

This offensive of the bourgeoisie against the living conditions of the workers which is taking place in all countries of the world without exception, makes it difficult for the Social-Fascist leaders of various shades to maintain their influence over the workers which is the basis for their participation in the bourgeois apparatus of government. Their treacherous rôle stands out too openly. Thus, the economic crisis opens up the possibility for the Communist Parties to penetrate among new strata of the workers, to conquer the majority of the working class, and to seize for themselves the hegemony in leadership of the struggles of the working class.

In the *inner political sphere*, the development of the general national crisis makes itself felt in the following respects. The dissatisfaction of the masses of workers and peasants would ordinarily demand on the part of the bourgeoisie a combination of all their forces, a uniformly carried through line of policy. Actually the opposite is seen; the struggle for a greater share of the lesser total profits leads to a splitting of the forces of the bourgeoisie, to political turmoil inside the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, or its separate strata, develop for safeguarding their interests two types of organisation: *class organisations in the narrower sense*, e.g., the National Federation of German Industry, the Federation of British Industries, etc., in which only members of the particular stratum concerned are included, and *political parties* which have the object of gathering together members of the

* This diminution of profits is seen in the collapse in the value of shares of British colonial enterprises, as the following examples will prove:—

Enterprise.	Highest Value, Value, Oct. 1927.		Per cent. Drop.
	1927.	29, 1930	
Malacca Rubber ...	47/6	12/6	74
London Asiatic ...	6/3	2/7½	58
Shansi Tea ...	122/6	45/-	61
Royal Dutch ...	38/-	28/-	28
Lobitos Oil Field ...	52/6	28/3	46
Mexican Eagle ...	18/3	9/-	50
Unilever ...	129/6	45/-	70
Chinese Engineering ...	70/7	37/-	48
Argentine Land ...	58/-	28/9	48
Hudson's Bay ...	138/-	43/9	68
Java Investments ...	45/9	19/3	60
Argentine Railways ...	100/-	64/-	36
Canadian Pacific ...	273/-	175/-	37
Brazilian Pacific ...	108/-	73/-	34

† In every crisis the drop in retail prices lags behind in time and amount the drop in wholesale prices; in this crisis the difference is especially great. The following figures of German price levels will serve as an example:—

Date.	Wholesale price Index.	Industrial Raw Mats.	Industrial Mfts.	Official Cost of Living Index.
Sept., 1929	138.1	131.6	157.2	153.6
Per cent. Drop.	11.0	12.0	6.0	4.0
Sept., 1930	122.8	116.3	148.4	146.9

Thus, according to the *official* estimate, the cost of living fell by only 4 per cent.; wages, however, were reduced by 8 per cent. and earnings even more.

classes existing outside the actual ranks of the bourgeoisie and bringing them under the hegemony of the bourgeoisie.* Although in the present period of monopoly capitalism in the fully developed capitalist countries *all parties*, with the exception of the Communist Party, in the final analysis pursue the policy of finance capital, still they are widely distinguished according to the *ideology* with which they bring the masses into the service of finance capital (the Centre—Catholicism, the National Socialists—Chauvinism, the National Party—anti-Semitism), and according to which *classes and strata* of the population they primarily cater for (e.g., the German Nationalists for the peasantry, the German People's Party for the urban bourgeoisie and their immediate hangers-on, the Economic Parties for the handworkers, the Social-Democrats for the better situated proletariat, etc.).

The general national crisis makes itself observable in internal policy in the following manner:—

(a) *Decomposition, splitting and new formation of political Parties.* The basis for this phenomenon is that the class antagonisms which become intensified through the crisis can no longer be bridged over by a party ideology, it becoming ever more difficult for members of different classes to remain together in the same Party.† We can follow this process at the present time in every country, with the exception, naturally, of those countries under a Fascist dictatorship. In Germany, we see splitting of the German National Party, collapse of the Democrats, change of leaders in the German People's Party, etc. In England, we see formation of fractions in the Conservative Party against Baldwin, splitting of the Parliamentary Liberal Party at the last vote, strong differences of opinion in the

Labour Party (J. H. Thomas for tariffs, Snowden for Free Trade, opposition groups of Maxton and Mosley). In America we see election victory of the Democrats, crisis in the Republican Party, etc.

(b) *Divergence of the political line of the pure class organisations and of the political party of the same strata of the bourgeoisie.* Thus, in Germany we have the different positions adopted by the National Federation of German Industry and by the German People's Party in the question of agrarian taxation. In Poland, Leviathan, the class organisation of the big bourgeoisie, goes with Pilsudski, while the National Democrats, the traditional Party of the big bourgeoisie, are in opposition.

(c) *Splitting of those economic organisations which include members from different classes.* For example, the German agrarian organisations.

(d) *Difference in policy of closely allied class organisations of the bourgeoisie.* For example, the National Federation of German Industry is against further raising of the agrarian duties, while the organisation of Rheinisch-Westphalian big industry (Langnamen Union) stands for fulfilment of all the demands of the agrarians.

To sum up: the struggle for shares in the profits which have been so considerably reduced by the crisis has as its consequence not only a crisis of economic policy, but also a crisis of the whole political-organisational structure of the bourgeoisie. The rapidly succeeding Government crises, dissolutions of Parliament and new elections are equal testimony to this.

Parallel with this goes a considerable heightening of the political activity of the broad masses. Participation in the various elections has never been so extensive as now during the crisis. Mass meetings and demonstrations follow one another in rapid succession. We have a situation which can be characterised in the words of Lenin ("Left-Wing" Communism—an Infantile Sickness)

"that the ruling classes pass through a governmental crisis which draws the backward masses into politics."

The bourgeois régime cannot long put up with such an "unclear" situation, since by the shattering of the credit system, by withdrawal

* In special cases there may be also an intermediate type, e.g., the Land Union, which unites members of different classes, on the pretext of representing their common economic interests, under the hegemony of the big agrarians.

† It is a special problem how the German Centre Party with the help of Catholic-religious ideology and the Church organisation has so far remained exempt from the general Party crisis, and how it has been able to hold together in one Party wage-workers, small peasants, petty-bourgeoisie, agrarians and big capitalists.

of foreign credits and by the flight of capital it in its turn intensifies the economic crisis, as could be seen most clearly in the development of the latter in Germany after the September elections.

On the basis of the general crisis of capitalism which is intensified by the acute phase of crisis, the Fascist danger also becomes intensified. Since the bourgeoisie is no longer in a position to hold the wide masses of the peasantry, petty-bourgeoisie, officials, employees as also parts of the working class under the influence of the traditional bourgeois parties by means of the old ideology, it is compelled in place of Parliamentary democracy, in place of *"the democratic Republic, which is the best conceivable political mask for capitalism"* (Lenin, *State and Revolution*), to establish open bourgeois terror. In many cases it prepares this and carries it through with the assistance of the Fascist parties, which by means of social, national, chauvinist and anti-Semite pseudo-revolutionary demagoguery are partly able to absorb the dissatisfied revolting masses that are cutting themselves off from the bourgeois parties and bar the way to their streaming into the revolutionary movement and the Communist Party, and thus, by means of pseudo-revolutionary ideology to bring them once again under the influence of the bourgeoisie and facilitate the transition to bourgeois terror and suppression of every popular freedom.

The Social-Fascists diligently lend their assistance in this, even if with somewhat different methods.

The struggle for the share of profits does not only proceed inside the ruling class of a single country; all international relations also become intensified. *The question of a new division of the world is put forward more and more openly.* The war danger grows. Simultaneously, in an even stronger measure, grows the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, for which the military, political (Eastern bloc) and ideological (religious propaganda, dumping crusade, etc.), preparations are in full swing.

The transformation of the economic crisis into a general national crisis takes place very unequally. In the United States of America, where the economic basis had still hardly been

attacked by the general crisis of capitalism, where the economic crisis in general has the character of a "normal" cyclical crisis, elements of the general national crisis are only present in their very first indications. In Great Britain, which economically has suffered very heavily from the general crisis, the political crisis already finds much stronger expression. Nevertheless, the enormous riches of the bourgeoisie, the plundering of entire colonial sections of the globe, the very firmly rooted "bourgeois Labour Party" and the presence of a corrupted Labour aristocracy has a hindering effect on the development of the political crisis. *The transformation of the economic crisis into a political crisis is to be seen much more clearly in Germany and in Austria, while in Poland the "democratic Republic" has already been reduced to a farce and Pilsudski is compelled to carry through the policy of finance capital by means of open violence.*

The general national crisis has taken on the sharpest forms in the colonies which have economically suffered the most from the crisis, in South America, India and China by the inter-locking of the struggle against imperialist oppression with the struggle of the imperialists themselves. Each of these regions exhibits particular forms of civil war; it is not possible here to analyse them in detail. Taken together they form elements of the general crisis of bourgeois class rule which we have already observed throughout the entire world.

Our analysis demonstrates that elements of a general national crisis are present in many countries, and that the transformation of the economic crisis into a political crisis is in process in many countries. The conflicts of interest inside the ruling class are intensified. The longer the agrarian crisis lasts, the more strongly is the hegemony of the bourgeoisie over the wide masses of the peasantry endangered. The crisis demands numerous sacrifices from the petty-bourgeoisie and dissatisfaction becomes widespread among the members of the stratum. The stratum of corrupted workers becomes weaker. Mass unemployment and wage reductions worsen the position of the working class. There is growing embitterment. The influence of the Social-

Fascists begins to dwindle. In many regions, the bourgeoisie is compelled to have recourse to the weapon of open terror and to conduct an open warfare against the revolting masses (West Ukraine, India, North Africa, China).

The objective pre-conditions for a successful revolutionary struggle of the Communist Parties will be more favourable in the year 1931 than at any time since the first years after the war. The general national crisis, as far as the ruling classes are concerned, is in full process of development. But in order to take up the struggle for power with prospects of success it is necessary also that the other side of the general national crisis, the revolutionary fighting readiness of the oppressed classes, should fully develop itself.

"... for revolution it is a condition that the majority of the workers (or in any case the majority of the conscious, thinking, politically active workers) have completely comprehended the necessity for revolution and are prepared for its sake to go to their death."

(Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" Communism.)

In order to reach this position, the Communist Parties must conduct the sharpest struggle against the Social-Fascists who deny the necessity of revolution and deceive the workers with the possibility that they can better their lot inside the capitalist order of society by the aid of peaceful reforms along constitutional paths. Similarly it is necessary to wage the sharpest struggle against the Fascists, who betray the workers by means of pseudo-revolutionary demagoguery and divert them from the proletarian revolution in the attempt to lead them into the counter-revolutionary camp.

Further, it is a condition for revolution according to Lenin, that the political activity of the masses in general should be multiplied many times.

"The characteristic of every true revolution is the multiplication tenfold and even a hundredfold of the representatives of the toiling and exploited masses who are capable of taking up the political struggle and who up to then were apathetic."

(Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" Communism.)

To make active the masses of the exploited, to convince them of the necessity of revolution, to organise them for struggle against the domination of the exploiters, to make them ready to go to their deaths for the sake of the revolution; these tasks must be fulfilled by the Communist Parties in order that a true "general national crisis without which the revolution is not possible" shall be developed in full measure.

As Lenin says, the great masses and not merely the vanguard must be drawn into the struggle:

"With the vanguard alone, victory is impossible. It would be not only foolish, but criminal, to throw the vanguard into the final struggle so long as the whole class, the general mass, has not taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard or at least of benevolent neutrality towards it, so long as all probability of its supporting the enemy is not past. And, in order that really the whole class, the general mass, of toilers oppressed by capitalism may come to such a position, propaganda and agitation alone are not sufficient. For this, the masses must have their own political experience. Such is the fundamental law of all great revolutions."

(Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" Communism.)

During the course of the struggles of the last century, the masses in most countries have acquired political experience. The task is now to mobilise them for struggle. *The work of our Communist Parties will decide whether in the course of this economic crisis the rule of the bourgeoisie in some further countries will be overthrown, or whether the exploiters will obtain from history still a last reprieve from the gallows.*

THE CRISIS ON THE BRITISH RAILWAYS

By A. ROTHSTEIN.

I. THE NATURE OF THE CAPITALIST DIFFICULTIES.

THE four British railway companies into which all railway systems existing in Great Britain were amalgamated after the war have presented the railway unions with extensive demands for wage reductions and deterioration of working conditions. The motive for this demand is alleged to be the serious financial difficulties of the railways which, in the words of the "Times" (November 17th) have been "accumulating for years past, while steadily and persistently revenue has declined." Closer examination of the financial position of the railways discloses features of the crisis which are characteristic of the whole of British capitalist economy.

Under the Act of 1921 which amalgamated the railways, the figure of net profits to which the companies were normally entitled, was laid down as £50,000,000 per annum. In the following table, giving the net income from all sources and the amounts distributed every year in the shape of interest and dividends, we see a discrepancy which already throws considerable light on the nature of the crisis in railway finances.

			Net income from all sources.	Interest and dividends.
			£ millions.	
1913	....	....	48.9	46.2
1923	....	....	51.2	50.0
1924	....	....	47.2	50.0
1925	....	....	44.8	49.3
1926	....	....	26.5	41.9
1927	....	....	49.3	46.4
1928	....	....	47.9	44.8
1929	....	....	52.1	48.4

The most striking fact that emerges from this table is the comparative fluctuation of income from all sources and stability of the amount distributed as interest and dividends. This is particularly clear in 1926, the year of the general strike and mining lockout, when net income fell to £26.5 millions, while the amount distributed as interest and dividends fell only to £41.9 millions. British trade and industry might be stricken with paralysis, but banks, bond-holders and rentiers must have their income.

We see a different picture when we turn to the figures of gross receipts and expenditure from

the working of the railways proper, without auxiliary enterprises. We find a steady decline in receipts from £205.8 millions in 1923 to £195.4 millions in 1929. The rail receipts for the first eight months of the year were £116.9 millions in 1927, £110.2 millions in 1928, £110.2 millions in 1929, and £105.3 millions in 1930. August, 1930, as compared with August, 1929, showed a decrease in passenger journeys of 6.4%, in passenger receipts of 9.8%, in goods tonnage carried of 17.2%, in receipts for goods tonnage of 14.6% and in freight-train-miles of 8.9%.

How was it possible to maintain the level of profits distributed at a consistently high point while this decline in traffic and gross income continued? In the first place, by a small reduction of expenditure (from £166 millions in 1923 to £151.3 millions in 1929), due to a process of rationalisation. The following table shows the decline in the number of staff employed by the railways:—

		No. Employees.
1921	....	736,000
1925	....	702,000
1926	....	689,000
1927	....	683,000
1928	....	677,000
1929	....	642,000
1930	....	656,000

With the decline in the number of employees went an intensification of labour. Between 1923 and 1927, expenses fell by 3%, train-miles run increased by 2%. Between 1927 and 1928 the number of engine-drivers was reduced by 2.6%, the number of train-miles run was increased by 0.9%. A similar process has taken place in the stations, depots, goods yards, etc. Between January and September 1930, 88 stations were closed on the London and North-Eastern Railway, 60 stations on the London, Midland and Scottish, 24 on the Great Western and four on the Southern.

The process of reduction of staff and intensification of labour has been proceeding with exceptional rapidity of recent months. At the beginning of October, the L.N.E.R. announced that 3,000 youths would be dismissed in the near future, while the retiring age would be reduced from 70 to 68, in the case of the opera-

tive grades, and from 65 to 63 in the case of supervisory grades. At the same time it was announced that many workers were being reduced in grade, and thereby in wages. The effect of this system of dismissing staff, intensifying labour, transferring men from a higher grade to a lower, dismissal of permanent men and their re-engagement as "casual" workers without a guaranteed weekly wage, etc., can be seen from the following typical comment in the "Railway Review" (the official organ of the National Union of Railwaymen) of November 7th :—

"The depletion of staff at the various locomotive depots on the London and North-Eastern Railway is imposing a very serious strain on the loyalty of the men. There has been a definite and calculated cut in the staff. . . . In most of the depots, overtime amounting to hundreds of hours per week is being worked, and it is becoming a frequent occurrence for men to be on duty twelve or more hours per shift."

In addition to these methods of reducing expenditure, recent years have seen the introduction of the so-called "nine hours roster," i.e., the distribution of eight hours' work over nine hours of the day, which, like the kindred system of the spread-over proposed in the mines, means in practice a lengthening of the working day. Furthermore, between August, 1928, and May 12th, 1930, with the friendly co-operation of the railway unions, the railway companies were enabled to reduce wages by 2½%, which meant a saving of approximately £3,000,000 per year.

Nevertheless, all these economies have not proved sufficient to meet the drain on the companies' resources caused by the maintenance of a high level of interest and dividends.

The reserve funds of the railway companies have for the last six years shown a steady decline. While they increased from £20.7 millions in 1913 to £114.3 millions in 1924, they declined as follows during subsequent years :—

Railway reserves.			
£ millions.			
1924	....	....	114.3
1925	....	....	103.3
1926	....	....	86.4
1927	....	....	81.8
1928	....	....	80.9
1929	....	....	79.8

It is this decline, above all, which has spurred the companies to new and heroic efforts in the interests of "economy." In the words of the "Times" leading article of November 17th, already referred to : "The managements must safeguard the interests of the shareholders."

Thus the problem facing the capitalists of the railways is not purely and solely, as the "Times" falsely asserts, "to promote the recovery without which the railways themselves cannot prosper," but of the stagnation and parasitism which their own system is developing in increasing degree. This feature is strikingly brought out by the fact that, out of the total capital invested in the railways, amounting to £1,170 millions in 1929, no less than £325 millions represent "watered" capital, according to the calculations of the Labour Research Department "(Labour Research," November, 1930). The interest on this sum alone at the present rate, roughly some £13 millions, would be more than sufficient to pay for the economies it is hoped to make by the proposed reduction of railwaymen's wages. But to suggest the "squeezing out" of this water would of course be utopian. In this respect, parasitism and the capitalist offensive on the railways are only the reflection and, for the time being, the most outstanding instance, of parasitism and the general offensive against the working-class developing in Great Britain.

2. THE GENERAL ATTACK ON THE WORKING-CLASS.

It is a serious mistake to imagine that the crisis on the British railways is something peculiar and limited to that particular branch of economy. The experience of the railway strike in 1919 showed that such a conflict in a small highly industrialised country like Great Britain, raises immediately all the fundamental problems of class power, and brings into action very rapidly all the principal sections of the working-class, as effectively as a general strike.

Only the existence of a general crisis, only the prospect of the present attack on the railwaymen developing into a general attack on the whole working-class, can satisfactorily explain the offensive of the railway companies. The attack on the miners, the Government commission appointed to investigate "abuses" in the system of unemployed relief, the drive for a further intensification of labour in the textile industry, the attack on agricultural workers' wages—even these may be regarded as preliminary encounters in this general offensive. Let us take a few of the statements of capitalist policy which justify this assertion.

In the Liberal "Economist" of October 25th, we find a special article on the causes of the

decline in British trade, by A. Loveday, head of the Economic and Intelligence Service of the League of Nations. Mr. Loveday finds that the decline is due to the "lack of suppleness in the mechanism of production, and that ultimate cause has put a check, not only on our export trade, but on our whole production of wealth." After quoting elaborate figures of trade and production to prove the existence of a decline, Loveday proceeds to explain what he means by "lack of suppleness"—namely, a too high relative level of wages. "If wages remain as rigidly inflexible after the price fall of 1929-30 as they have remained in recent years, then, unless prices rise once more, the numbers permanently unemployed may increase from an average of some one million or more to an average of two . . . Between 1923 and 1928 the United Kingdom allowed prices to fall, while national productivity per head has remained almost unchanged. Wages had to fall, but actually they rose; and unemployment increased." And Loveday concludes, as he began, by declaring that "the real problem to-day is that of restoring elasticity to the whole organism."

The capitalist class at large rightly interpreted the main point of Loveday's article as a demand for a reduction in wages. Thus, we find the singular spectacle of the Conservative Sir Austen Chamberlain shedding crocodile tears in the House of Commons over this Liberal article, and asking: "Is there no alternative to the lowering of general wages and conditions of labour to which this article points?" ("Times," November 4th.)

On the same day as Chamberlain's plea appeared, the official leadership of the Liberal Party came forward with a declaration which showed, that so far as it was concerned there was no alternative. On November 4th a very long manifesto was published over the signatures of Lloyd George and other Liberal leaders, embodying plans for solution or alleviation of the unemployment problem. At the very head and forefront of these plans comes the reduction of the costs of production by 10%; and lest there should be any misunderstanding as to what is involved, the manifesto adds: "The British Government should do for Britain what Sir Otto Niemeyer did for Australia." That is to say, it should take the lead in lengthening working hours and reducing wages, and as a form of

economy in the Government apparatus reducing Government expenditure "by 10% or more" through a special committee, and thereby set the example for the other capitalist employers. In passing, it may be mentioned that the Liberals also believe that "the unemployment insurance scheme should be drastically revised, so as to restore its insurance basis and to remove present abuses."

In a lecture on November 7th at the Textile Society, Manchester College of Technology, Dr. J. A. Bowie stated:—

"The kernel of our present position is that since 1924 the wholesale prices of food and raw materials have fallen by more than 30%, the price of our manufactured exports by 20%, the cost of living by 11%, and the money wage index by less than 2%. In other words, we have been increasing the standard of living, both of employed and unemployed, at the expense of deepening and prolonging the industrial depression. Unless the costs of production can regain their flexibility and adaptability to world prices, we must be pushed farther and farther back in the competitive race. *Wage rates as between sheltered and unsheltered occupations should be rationalised. Increased technical and co-operative efficiency must be exploited to the maximum, and throughout industry a 10% reduction in wages and salaries should be accepted.*" (Times, November 8.)

To take one further example, we find that on November 12th the bourgeoisie transferred its propaganda for wage reductions to the House of Commons, when Mond, Conservative M.P. for Liverpool, and the son of Lord Melchett, the promoter of "industrial peace," moved a motion—

"That the only means whereby the general reduction of wages in the immediate future can be avoided is the institution of a general tariff on foreign manufactured goods."

Thus, the propaganda of wage reductions is carried on under the smoke screen of the demand for a general tariff, but this very method of putting the question throws the emphasis for all practical purposes upon "the general reduction of wages in the immediate future." In these circumstances, the rejection of the tariff proposal by 209 to 95 only heightens the effect of the propaganda for wage cuts.

These and other similar declarations leave no room for doubt of the existence of a general wage offensive, of which the attack on railway wages and conditions is only the spearhead. This is the central fact which must be kept in perspective in estimating at its true importance the crisis on the railways.

3. THE ATTACK ON THE RAILWAYMEN.

The following table gives the figures of average wages and average payments (i.e., average total earnings, inclusive of overtime, etc.) published by the railway companies.

Earnings.	Average Wages.	Average Payments.
Under 50/-	135,714 (26.5%)	30,271 (5.9%)
" 60/-	277,246 (54.0%)	203,815 (39.7%)
" 70/-	419,094 (81.7%)	302,076 (58.9%)
" 80/-	425,614 (83%)	397,173 (77.5%)

Thus over half the railwaymen received less than £3 per week at normal rates of wages, and over four-fifths less than £3 10s. per week. Even taking into account the extra earnings caused by speeding up, hundreds of hours of overtime, referred to earlier, two-fifths earn less than £3 and slightly less than three-fifths less than £3 10s. It was these rates of wages which the Executive Committee of the British Chamber of Commerce had in mind in the summer, when it declared that a primary factor in British decline is "the high level of transport charges, and the high rate of wages paid to workers in the sheltered industries, the most important of which is transport."

Reference has already been made to the fact that in August, 1928, a wage cut of 2½% was imposed, and subsequently prolonged until May, 1930, by joint agreement between the unions and the managements. The 2½% was restored at the latter date, but only for six months, at the end of which the railway companies would be free to propose new conditions of employment. They duly did so, after November 12th, 1930, by putting forward a far-reaching programme for drastically cutting wages and worsening conditions.

Under the railway companies' demands, adult males are to suffer a general reduction of 6/- weekly, while their minimum wage is to be reduced from 40/- to 38/-. Youths and women are to suffer 3/- reductions. Adult male clerks are to accept reductions of £10 to £15 yearly (roughly 4/- to 6/- per week), and women clerks corresponding reductions amounting to from 3/- to 4/6 per week. The total economy on these reductions is calculated as totalling £9.5 millions. In addition, the 119,000 railway shopmen are to suffer reductions of 6/6 per week if they are on piece work, and 4/6 per week on time work; involving a saving for the railway companies of £1.5 millions. The total economies to be achieved in this way thus amount

to £11 millions or 10% of the wages bill. Thus, we see once again, recurring this magical figure of 10%, and which is to achieve the miraculous recovery of British trade and British capitalism. By a singular "coincidence," the Irish railway companies have at the same time presented the railway unions with a demand for a wage cut of 10%, pure and simple, on the Irish railways.

But the attack does not end at this point. The standard working week of 48 hours is to be worked "as the company may require," that is, at night time, including Sundays, etc., and payment is to be made only for time worked. This means that the guaranteed week is abolished, and moreover, the opportunity is thrown open to the railway companies to reintroduce the system of "split turns," another form of the spreadover already alluded to, which make it possible for a man to be asked to work two hours on one day and 14 or 15 hours the next. It follows as a matter of course that Sunday work, overtime and night work are to be paid at higher rates (time-and-a-quarter) only when they occur in excess of the standard week, i.e., when 48 hours have already been worked in the given week. These additional impositions raise the real attack on wages to a much higher level than the sacramental 10%. It is estimated that the locomotive engineers will suffer a reduction of from 15/- to 30/- a week, i.e., from 15% to 25%. The high proportion of workers earning less than 60/-, even including overtime, means that in reality a higher percentage will be widespread.

The unions prepared to meet the companies' attack by drawing up, in October, programmes of demands which included a £3 minimum wage for all grades, in the case of the National Union of Railwaymen, and various improvements, including the abolition of the nine hours' roster in the case of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. But all these demands rapidly dropped out of the picture when the companies' proposals became known. It is noteworthy that already at the Railway Clerks' Conference, on November 10th and 11th, Walkden, the General Secretary, protested strong opposition to the anticipated demand for wage reductions, but opposed a resolution by the Liverpool district that the Executive Committee of the union should refuse to accept any wage cuts, and prepare to organise resistance;

and the resolution was defeated by 30,000 to 12,000.

Characteristic of the attitude of the other leaders of the railway unions is the declaration of Bromley at Rugby ("Times," Nov. 17th):—

"There is a long way to go before a strike—I will try to avoid it—and if the companies see that the men are behind their leaders, there will be no strike."

Mr. Cramp, the General Secretary of the N.U.R., declares that "the demands are absolutely absurd in the length to which they go." He would only accept such demands for the non-unionists. Throughout these and similar statements runs the persistent anxiety at all costs to oppose any action by the workers, and even to hint that some compromise is possible. In this connection it is worth quoting the leading article in the first issue of the "Railway Review" after the companies' proposals were published (Nov. 21st, 1930):—

"Our members need not fear, all that is conceivable will be thrashed out in defence of their standards. The defence will be argued out at the proper time and in the proper place. A case that is being heard cannot be argued out in a public journal before the proceedings start. . . . The public platform and the public press are not the places where we shall be defended, but in the place assigned by Act of Parliament; and because there is no noise, because everything will be quietly done, the action will be none the less effective on that account, even as it has been hitherto. We hold a high standard in our negotiations, and the standard will not be lowered on this when occasion needs."

That is to say, the railwaymen are to remain quiet while these and the other railway union officials carry on negotiations "at the proper time and place" under the procedure laid down by the 1921 Act, i.e., first by direct negotiations with the railway companies, then, if and when these break down, at the conciliation board composed of an equal number of representatives of the companies and unions, and finally, when this fails, at the National Wages Board composed of an equal number of representatives of the companies, the unions and the "consumers," with an "independent" chairman.

What the railwaymen themselves think is partially reflected in the branch reports printed in the "Railway Review" of Nov. 21st:—

Aberdeen No. 2: "A strong feeling of resentment was expressed, also a determination to resist these iniquitous proposals to the utmost."

Aberystwyth: "We ask the officers and E.C. to resist to their utmost the proposals, and if necessary to seek a Government enquiry into the railway service of this country."

Banbury: "The companies' proposals were read in detail, and were met with the only decision they deserve. We are not having them."

Bexhill: "What is required is a series of public meetings throughout the country where the whole position could be placed before the people."

Blyth No. 1: "We are uncompromisingly against accepting any part of the proposals, and they must be rejected *in toto*. We pledged our support in such action."

Bow No. 1: "We will stand by our E.C. to any extent to take whatever steps they may deem necessary to ward off the attack."

Bow No. 2: "We call upon our E.C. to counteract the proposals to the fullest extent, and further we call upon His Majesty's Government to immediately take over the railroads."

Broad Street: "We pledge ourselves to support any action the E.C. may decide upon."

Carmarthen No. 2: "We trust the inevitable negotiations will yield evidence to make our folk understand what is meant by rationalisation."

Crewe No. 5: "Secretary instructed to write Head Office and urge them to resist same with all the power we possess. Resolution to Head Office asking them to press for nationalisation of the railways."

Euston Terminus: "We reject these proposals and strongly recommend the programme of the special general meeting."

Forest Gate: "We are prepared to resist by strike or any other action any attempt to worsen our present conditions of service. We call on all railwaymen to immediately set up strike committees or councils of action to be prepared for official or unofficial resistance in the immediate future."

Glyn Neath: "We ask our E.C. to wait upon the Government with this document, as we believe that it clearly illustrates the failure of private enterprise."

Grimsby No. 1: "We are sending a communication to the Prime Minister demanding that the Government take over the railways and work them for the benefit of the State until the trade of the country has been restored. . . . We support Mr. Cramp and the E.C. in any action they care to take for the uplifting of our members."

Immingham: "We ask the E.C. to demand a public enquiry into the administration of the whole of the British railways."

It will be seen from this series of resolutions that only in one case is there direct reference to a strike (Forest Gate); in a few cases branches have declared their readiness to support the Executive in "any action," while in the majority of cases an appeal to "public opinion" is suggested, either through Parliament, a public enquiry, propaganda about nationalisation, etc. This state of affairs is the result of the active struggle of the trade union bureaucracy against even a hint at a strike.

But these reports do not accurately reflect the real fighting spirit of the workers. As long ago as last August, "go slow" strikes in two main London depots, King's Cross and Bishopsgate, were able under the Minority Movement leader-

ship and influence to secure victories over the railway companies, who had dismissed a number of workers on the ground of "economy."

At the N.U.R. conference itself in October, where the Executive attempted to meet the demands of the workers by proposing a £2 10s. weekly minimum wage as the basis of the union programme, the local delegates, officials for the most part themselves, nevertheless carried through an increase of the figure to £3, also increasing the demand for annual holiday from six to twelve days. On November 4th goods guards and shunters at Barrow decided to "work to rule," i.e., slow down work by carrying out literally all the regulations, as a protest against unreasonable transfers. When the companies' terms were announced, a number of branches and meetings of railwaymen took up a much more militant attitude than is indicated by the reports quoted above.

The resolution adopted by Forest Gate N.U.R. branch has already been quoted above; a similar resolution was adopted at Nine Elms, Battersea. Bow No 1, a week after the resolution referred to above, strengthened it by a definite declaration for strike action, and a resolution to ignore settlements over the head of the railwaymen, to refuse recognition of any arbitral decision, and to create depot and shop committees. Resolutions for depot committees were passed by N.U.R. branches at Leytonstone, Wallasey, Rutherglen, the latter at a mass meeting of the organised and unorganised convened by the union branch. Similar mass meetings, convened by the Minority Movement, had been reported in the "Daily Worker" at Stratford (Nov. 18th) and Cardiff (Nov. 25th), both important centres. At all these places definite resolutions for the setting up of fighting committees to resist the companies' attack and secure the union programme. At Derby, one of the biggest railway centres, J. H. Thomas himself, whose constituency this is, was shouted down by railwaymen.

4. THE ORGANISATION OF RESISTANCE : TASKS OF THE C.P. AND M.M.

Considerable efforts have been made by the Party and the Minority Movement to prepare workers for resistance. The leadership given in the Bishopsgate and King's Cross dispute, when the Minority Movement issued special railway

papers and leaflets, held meetings, etc., has been mentioned earlier. For the last few months the "Worker" has been conducting a campaign exposing the railway company's intentions, and the Party and sympathetic press has published material exposing the hypocrisy of the company's claims. On Oct. 6th, in anticipation of the special general meeting of the N.U.R., the railwaymen's M.M. published an open letter analysing the situation on the railways and advancing, as a basis for the programme to be adopted by the conference, the slogans of no dismissals, reinstatement of dismissed workers, a shorter day and week, a guaranteed day and week. It urged the workers to prepare for strike action by the election of depot committees representing all grades. On Nov. 3rd, following the N.U.R. conference, was held the Third Annual Conference of the Railwaymen's M.M., attended by 55 delegates from militant branches, depots, shops, etc., Here again careful analysis of the situation on the railways was made, the call for independent leadership was given, many delegates reported a real fighting spirit among the workers, and the slogans for the coming struggle were made more concrete: against reductions and worsened conditions, a national minimum wage of £3, the six-hour day and 36-hour week, abolition of spreadover and overtime, and guaranteed day and week for all grades, including shopmen.

But the conference displayed definite weaknesses which had been characteristic of the campaign of the Party and M.M. throughout the most recent period. First, the general perspective of an offensive against the whole working-class, in which the railway offensive is the opening attack, and of the political and tactical conclusions which follow, was and is absent, up to date, from the campaign. The attack on the railwaymen was in the main treated as a matter for railwaymen. Secondly, the detailed preparations and organisation of the independent leadership of the railwaymen's struggle, particularly the concrete problems of determining the areas upon which to concentrate and the methods of securing the formation of committees of action, played a very minor part, and figure very little in the published reports of the conference. Thirdly, a demand of the workers which, as has been shown above, is very widespread and urgent, and which had been put

forward in the open letter at the beginning of October—the demand for reinstatement of dismissed workers—dropped out of the M.M. propaganda (e.g., the “Worker” of Nov. 21st, leading article).

When the terms of the companies were published, the Party and M.M. intensified the campaign for the formation of committees of action, and it is clearly under revolutionary leadership that the majority of resolutions demanding strike action and calling for the formation of committees of struggle have been adopted. But these measures are not sufficient in the present situation. With the great weakness of the Party in organised influence among the railwaymen, with the falling off in recent years of the wide network of railway papers which formerly existed, it is essential for the Party to combat ruthlessly Right opportunist or “Left” sectarian tendencies (both varieties exist, the first predominating), especially the tendency to treat the attack on the railwaymen as “a matter for railwaymen.”

The attack must be regarded as something which is the direct concern of every Party local, group and individual member, involving the necessity of organised approach by themselves and the class-conscious workers who support them, or who support the policy of the M.M., to the railwaymen in their locality. Not only meetings, conversations, distribution of leaflets by the Party forces, but also the rallying of mass support among the workers in other industries, mass marches by the miners (themselves under the hammer blows of the capitalist attack, and anxious to resist), the mobilisation of support by the unemployed, etc., are necessary in order to prove to the railwaymen by deeds that we are out to support them in their fight.

And this is a political problem, not one of organisation alone. The capitalist class recognises this. The “Daily Worker” has published interesting details lately of a parallel “O.M.S.” strike-breaking organisation which has recently come into existence. On Nov. 8th, the “Times”

published details of the “Maritime Command of Frontiersmen” an organisation of trained seamen, yachtsmen, and fishermen, organised in units around the coast and on the canals and waterways “for use in an emergency like a general strike.” The Labour Government has made it clear that any amending trade union act which it may introduce will not interfere with Baldwin’s declaration of the illegality of a general strike, sympathetic strikes, political strikes, etc. This is in full keeping with its imperialist and rationalisation policy. The Party must have before it the central perspective referred to earlier—of a general capitalist attack, of the growth of the economic attack into a political attack under the fascist banner already raised throughout the capitalist parties, under the stress of capitalist decline and decay, and the increasing mass disillusionment in the Labour Party. The campaign for the Workers’ Charter must be a campaign with this perspective in view to rally all forces of the workers around the railwaymen and miners, in order to break this attack and widen the economic struggles which arise during its progress into political strikes.

The Railway Union officials place their trust in the weakening effect upon the workers of long weeks of secret negotiations. These weeks must be made use of to turn the tables upon the union bureaucracy. Under the leadership of militant depot committees, of militant branches, of the railwaymen’s M.M.—as circumstances dictate—the railwaymen should be rallied in local and district conferences, and the maximum of working-class support mobilised for the actual formation of action committees everywhere. The central slogans of the struggle, which should be widened now to include the repeal of the Trade Union Act and the fight against the Labour Government and social-fascist trade union bureaucracy, should be carefully, simply, and patiently explained, again and again, by all the means at our disposal, with the central perspective always in mind. To-day, as at no time previously, time is on our side, given revolutionary effort and determination.

LESSONS OF THE RIGHT-CUM-"LEFT" BLOC IN THE U.S.S.R.

UNDER the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the working class of the U.S.S.R. is conducting on all fronts a wide Socialist offensive against the internal capitalist elements. The main feature of this offensive is that, while not yet abolishing N.E.P. (the New Economic Policy) the ruling working class is developing its large Socialist industry at a terrific speed and, first and foremost, its heavy industry; and is uprooting capitalism within the country, by conducting the policy of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, and carrying out mass collectivisation in the most important agricultural regions. But at this decisive stage of the Socialist offensive on the existing capitalist elements, not one important achievement of Socialism can be attained without the intensified efforts of all the powers of the working masses, cannot be achieved otherwise than by a decisive, intensive and prolonged struggle against all difficulties. For the C.P.S.U. and the conscious proletariat of the U.S.S.R., these difficulties did not arise as something unexpected or unforeseen. The difficulties of the present period of Socialist construction, being difficulties of development, arise out of the actual character of this period, out of the necessity of reconstructing as speedily as possible the whole technical basis of the national economy of the country and, at the same time especially the social economic relations in agriculture. Foreseeing and being aware of these difficulties of development, knowing that they themselves contain the basis for their liquidation in the course of speeding-up the rate of Socialist construction, the C.P.S.U. mobilises the masses for this purpose and, overcoming the difficulties, stimulates a new wave of enthusiasm and Socialist competition.

* * *

Along this path of advancing Socialist offensive and decisive overcoming of all difficulties, the U.S.S.R. goes from success to success. The second year of the Five-Year Plan terminated with tremendous successes which guarantee the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan in four years. In the forthcoming

third year of the Five-Year Plan, the execution of the plans of work which considerably exceed those of each of the preceding years, is assured. While the most important task in the future still remains the development of the means of production, the forcing of the construction of heavy industry, the production of steel, iron, coal, oil, electrical power, machines, chemical products, the third year will permit a considerable increase in the rate of development of light industry also, the production of means of consumption. Only by means of investing tremendous resources in heavy industry, thoroughly realising that this would not instantly satisfy the immediate demands of the consumer, has it been possible to attain such a development of the means of production, as will result during the forthcoming year in a considerable acceleration in the rate of development of the material and cultural level of the toilers, and a still more extended and more rapid raising of this level for the very widest masses of toilers in the country in the following years.

On the basis of its general line, the Party achieved the turn of the middle peasantry towards collectivisation, created gigantic Soviet farms, and in the main agricultural regions collectivised 40 per cent. of peasant households, comprising $\frac{2}{3}$ of the sown area of these districts. The increasing entry into collective farms shows that the collectivisation which has already been conducted has strengthened, that the poor and middle peasant have already felt the real improvement in their material position, that the peasantry already stands firm for collectivisation, and at the end of the Five-Year Plan the Party will in the main be able to complete the collectivisation of the peasant households of the most important agricultural regions. Mass collectivisation will become a reality in nearly all the regions. Accompanied by the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, collectivisation destroys the basis of capitalist restoration, destroys the idiotism of petty peasant economy, and creates the basis of Socialism in the village. Large sections of poor and middle peasant masses have already felt this

(one of the greatest historical changes) in the position of the peasantry, and even more decisively stand on the side of the proletariat and its Party.

For every Marxist, it should be self-evident that, whatever might be the difficulties of development, the growth of industrial and agricultural production, with its decrease of relative and absolute amount of capitalist elements, leads to the uninterrupted raising of the standard of living of the proletariat and the poor and middle peasant masses.

Only blatant opportunists are blind to these successes of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. Only blatant opportunists can in these circumstances fall into a panic in the face of difficulties, talk of "crisis" and "impending catastrophe."

But this developing Socialist offensive on the capitalist elements on all fronts arouses the fierce resistance of the kulaks, in relation to whom the Party is putting into operation the slogan of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, and all other capitalist strata which interfere with Socialism. These strata, faced with the fact of the tremendous successes of the Five-Year Plan and their own inevitable ruin, use all possible means and methods of struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The ideologists of the kulaks, the ideologists of capitalist development of agriculture (Kondratieffs, Chayanoffs, Makaroffs and others) entered into the formation of the organisation of counter-revolutionary groups, calling themselves "The Working Peasants' Party" in order to strengthen the position of the kulaks and to organise a kulak uprising against the dictatorship of the proletariat. But at the same time they relied upon the Right opportunists in the Party, endeavouring to find amongst them agents for their bourgeois ideas in the Soviet apparatus and in the Party. They endeavoured to use every opportunist for their counter-revolutionary aims, and at the same time, every pronouncement of the opportunists emboldened and encouraged them to strengthen their work against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Do we need any clearer proof that Right opportunism is the agent of the class enemy (the kulak), within the Party? Bourgeois specialists (the Ramzins, Kalininkovs, Laritchevs, etc.),

are closely connected with émigré Russian industrialists, and are conducting sabotage and espionage on behalf of France, England, Poland and so on; and preparing intervention against the U.S.S.R. These bourgeois specialists also endeavoured to attach themselves to various Communists and put them off their guard, winning them to the support of their concrete and seemingly business-like technical and economic proposals.

Under these conditions of advancing Socialist offensive, taking place under a number of difficulties, under conditions of the furious resistance of capitalist elements, it is quite natural that there should also be petty-bourgeois waverings among various backward strata of the working class who do not as yet understand all the perspectives of Socialist development. The Party mobilises all its forces in order to overcome these waverings, in order to draw these strata of workers into active class struggle. If these waverings are introduced into the ranks of the ruling Party, they become *doubly* dangerous.

Therefore, of every Communist is demanded political clarity, vigilance in relation to the class enemy and readiness to conduct a merciless and unceasing struggle. Therefore, from the Party is demanded a decisive and merciless struggle, not only against the open class enemy but against all manifestations of opportunism in the ranks of the Party, against the slightest deviation from the general line of the Party and petty-bourgeois waverings; for every such deviation and wavering will be used by the class enemy and will weaken the struggle against it.

Consequently, the Party does and must conduct an incessant, prolonged and uninterrupted struggle against Right opportunism and conciliatory tendencies towards it. Therefore, the Party conducts and must conduct a constant struggle against petty-bourgeois "left" opportunism and a conciliatory attitude towards counter-revolutionary Trotskyism.

But the present stage of Socialist construction is distinguished by the fact that on all the main questions, counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, speaking under the banner of the "left" and Right opportunists, have united, only differing in their method of argument. The present stage of intensifying world econo-

mic crisis and its transformation in a number of countries into a political crisis is marked by the fact that "left" Trotskyists and Right renegades in the international working class movement have united on a number of tactical questions. This once again proves that both these deviations are two sides of one medal, both have shown their Menshevik counter-revolutionary essence.

This rapprochement of Trotskyism and Right renegadism made possible and resulted in a political union between the "left" and Right deviators within the Party.

In the C.P. of White Russia this circumstance led to the formation of the Right-cum-"left" double-faced bloc of Syrtsov-Lominadze.

In the C.P.S.U. both Trotskyism and Right opportunism were fully exposed, their counter-revolutionary character fully revealed. Trotsky has been sent abroad and the leaders of the Right opposition declared their capitulation before the Party at the Sixteenth Party Congress. Both Trotskyist and Right opportunist views have been recognised as incompatible with membership of the Party. No one had dreams of coming forward openly in the Party with propaganda on behalf of these opportunist views and theories. But the erstwhile leaders of the Right wing, Comrades Rykov and Tomsky, while stating their capitulation before the Party, did not conduct a fight against Right opportunism within the Party, but were silent. Such a hypocritical position of the former leaders of Right opportunism could not but encourage the Ryutins, Slepkovs and Yaglom to continue to stand by their opportunist views, conduct illegal work and gather forces against the Party, asserting that the capitulation of Comrades Rykov and Tomsky was simply a manoeuvre. And the "leftists," who a year ago endeavoured to introduce into the Party and Y.C.L., planks from the Trotskyist platform, compelled to recognise their mistakes, had not yet outlived their opportunist anti-Party attitude and secretly continued to group themselves against the Party. Not understanding the essence of Bolshevik tactics, divorced from the working masses, in the period of sharp class struggle they surrendered the position of the Party on the main current questions and

associated themselves politically with the second crop of Right opportunists (Syrtsov and others), and endeavoured to hide their unanimity with the group of Comrades Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky, and formed a Right-cum-"left" bloc against the Party and its leadership.

This Right-cum-"left" bloc of Syrtsov-Lominadze comprises a mixture of Right-opportunist and semi-Trotskyist views, which in fact represent a complete opportunist system. In essence, this platform reflects petty-bourgeois fear in the face of the policy of developing Socialist offensive on the capitalist elements and expresses a deep lack of faith in the victory of Socialism over capitalism. Influenced by petty-bourgeois elements, seeing only their fear of the Socialist offensive, seeing only the difficulties met with in the construction of Socialism, not understanding their character and the fact that these difficulties are caused by reasons which contain elements of their destruction, they fell into a panic and in their fractional circle commenced propagating the inevitability of the "collapse" of the Party line and a "crisis" in Socialist construction of the U.S.S.R. The basis of their opposition is that they wavered on the question of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, striving, however, to hide their hesitation behind formal reasons.

From these waverings on the fundamental questions of the tactics of the Party all their partial differences with the Party were derived. Both Syrtsov and Lominadze, afraid of the difficulties of the Socialist offensive, began to waver on the question of the tempo of industrialisation, while Lominadze tried to "prove" that the Party was making for a lowering of the rates of development, when actually the Party is increasing them. Frightened by the difficulties in the sphere of food supply, Syrtsov, instead of working to improve supplies, began to succumb to the moods of the petty-bourgeoisie and talked about "crisis," while Lominadze in Trans-Caucasia put forward his assertion about the lowering of the wages of the workers, while actually real wages were increasing, although insufficiently. Under circumstances when the Party had conducted tremendous work in the cleansing and reduction of the Soviet appa-

tus and had promoted to responsible positions wide cadres of new industrial workers, Syrtsov propounded the pessimistic "theory" that the Soviet apparatus had deteriorated, that the Party cadres were incapable of fulfilling the tasks confronting them, and that the struggle against bureaucracy fostered bureaucracy, Lominadze propounded the calumny of feudal relations of the Soviet apparatus to the needs of the workers. In this fashion they revealed their deep, pessimistic, petty-bourgeois point of view on the situation in the U.S.S.R., which actually denies the existence of a successful Socialist offensive.

Undoubtedly, one of the greatest achievements of the October Revolution is the creation of a new State apparatus, having a different approach to the working masses from the previous bourgeois-landlord apparatus. If Syrtsov asserts that despite all the struggle against bureaucracy, the promotion of workers, etc., this apparatus is yearly operating less and less efficiently, then by the same token he lays open to doubt one of the main victories of the October Revolution. Therefore, the "theory" propounded by Syrtsov is a theory of capitulation, a theory of the inability of the workers to organise a State and economy without the capitalists. If Lominadze asserts that the real wages of the workers have during the past period fallen, then he is not only not in accordance with reality, but reveals a deep non-understanding of the essence of the Socialist economic system. How can the real wages of the workers decrease, when industry and agricultural production are growing, when, at the same time, thanks to the policy conducted by Party, the capitalist sector decreases? Neither Syrtsov nor Lominadze endeavour to prove in a Marxian fashion their hypotheses, because this is impossible. Instead of, as Marxists, analysing the extent, reasons and methods for overcoming the difficulties, they approached them in a petty-bourgeois, Menshevik fashion and fell into a panic, instead of consciously, in a Bolshevik manner, working to overcome them.

It would be impossible to defend such views before a single workers' nucleus. Arguments, defending the views of the Right-cum-"left" bloc, have long been defeated. For

this reason they did not even attempt this. Instead, they talked of their agreement with the Party line and demanded the trust of the Party, while commencing the formation of fractional groups which united a small number of unstable elements within the Party for struggle against the Party leadership. Under existing circumstances, such a group as that formed by Syrtsov could not but become the voice of counter-revolutionary elements. In the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, where the Communist Party is the only legal Party, the class enemy always strove, and now even more so, to use any waverings in the ranks of the leadership of the Communist Party. In the present period, when intensified preparations for intervention against the U.S.S.R. are being conducted, when the maximum intensity of forces are essential for overcoming the difficulties of Socialist construction, when the utmost unanimity is needed in order to destroy the remnants of capitalism within the country and to organise for resistance against international capital, waverings and petty-bourgeois hesitation within the Party are particularly dangerous. However organisationally insignificant and politically weak the Right-cum-"left" bloc of Syrtsov-Lominadze might be, it would be supported by all opportunists, reviving their struggle against the Party. On the one hand, the silence of the erstwhile leaders of the Rights, and on the other hand, the double-faced Right-cum-"lefts"—this is the basis for the new attack against the Party leadership.

Double-facedness represents the tactic of weakness, the decay of the opposition and its political hypocrisy; nevertheless, it is dangerous. At the present time, when on the one hand, both the Right opportunists and the Trotskyists are exposed to the Party, and on the other hand, the difficulties bound up with terrific growth, create the basis for opportunist waverings, double-facedness serves as the main mask for opportunist attacks on the Party, and is a tremendous danger to the whole of the Party. These hypocrites, hiding themselves behind statement of agreement with the general line of the Party, still have the opportunity of entrenching themselves among the less firm strata of the Party and thus destroy its unity.

The C.P.S.U., defending the general line of the Party from all attacks, conducting a continuous fight on two fronts, on this occasion also has declared a most decisive struggle against double-facedness and the Right-cum-“left” bloc, as a new tactical manoeuvre of the Right-cum-“left” opportunists. It expelled from its ranks the hypocrites, who had become open counter-revolutionaries (Ryutin, Nusinov, Kavraisky, Kurs and others). It expelled several Rights, who endeavoured to hide their fractional activities behind their statements of acceptance of the general line of the Party (Yaglom, Slepko, Maretsky and others); it exposed to the Party masses the opportunist double-faced activity of Syrtsov, Lominadze, Shatzkin and others.

Only by the unity of all members of the Party on the basis of the general line of the Party, only the heroic conscious work of the whole of the Party for the fulfilment of the tasks of Socialist construction can the final victory of Socialism over capitalism be assured.

That is why it is still more essential to deal a blow at opportunism and all its manoeuvres. That is why it is necessary to struggle even more decisively with all waverings within the ranks of the Party.

* * *

The Right-cum-“left” bloc of Syrtsov-Lominadze concerns *not only the C.P.S.U.*, but the whole Communist International.

The successful Socialist offensive on the capitalist elements within the U.S.S.R. is the victory of the whole of the world proletariat. The world proletariat, together with the workers of the U.S.S.R. exerts all its energies in support of this offensive. It will support the C.P.S.U. in its struggle against opportunist attempts to weaken the unity of its ranks. Firmly believing that the Party is correct in every way, it mobilises its forces against preparations for imperialist intervention against the U.S.S.R. Its confidence is unshakable.

But at the same time, the Communist International must conduct a still more intensified struggle against opportunism within the ranks of its sections. There is no doubt that the formation of the Right-cum-“left” bloc reflects processes which are not taking place

in the C.P.S.U. alone. The opportunists in other sections of the Communist International will not hesitate to use the example of Syrtsov-Lominadze, in order to hasten the unity of their Right and “left” fractions. As the economic crisis sharpens, as in the majority of countries it begins to develop into a political crisis, so more frequently will those who “accepted” the line of the Comintern in words, but not in actual fact, waver. The whining of the Rights and Trotskyists, more and more consolidating their ranks on an international scale, are still able to find listeners to them within the ranks of the Communist Parties. If several “Leftists” within the sections of the Communist International have already come nearer to the line of the Rights in such questions of first-rate tactical importance as the carrying out of the line of the Fifth Congress of the Profintern, then this only reveals their relationship with the Rights, and shows the general line of development of “leftists” at the present moment to be completely analogous with the line of development of the “leftists” within the C.P.S.U. The new tactical steps and organisational measures of the Parties, called for by the growing political crisis which develops simultaneously the forces both of revolution and counter-revolution, will throw into confusion both Right opportunists and “left” sectarians who do not believe in the power of the proletariat. Is there not something suspiciously akin, for instance, in several of the “left” viewpoints with the statement of the arch-Right winger Jacob Wolchar, that the strike of the Berlin metalworkers, as *an economic strike*, could under no circumstances terminate successfully, and therefore it was of no importance whether it continued three or five weeks! Is it not true that all the opportunists, in reality Right-wing, semi-Social-Democrats, are concealing in this way their unwillingness to lead economic strikes and thereby to bring the masses behind them into political struggle generally? Is it not true that behind these excuses, both renegades outside the German Communist Party and the Rights and “lefts” within the Party, hide their justification of the treachery of the trade union bureaucracy of the All-German Trade Union Federation? Is it not true that the Rights and several “lefts”

united against the creation of a Red Metal Workers' Union in Germany?

The Right danger is the *chief* danger; it develops out of the whole situation of the international working class movement—this must always be remembered. But the Rights love to hide themselves under the mask of the "lefts" and under arch-revolutionary estimations of the situation (*i.e.*, in Poland) which require exposure.

This lesson needs to be specially stressed after the Russian experience.

Under circumstances of a developing revolutionary wave on the one hand, and the approaching intervention against the U.S.S.R. on the other hand—the maximum unity of the Party and the whole Comintern is essential; revolutionary unity of their actions and desires. Only under such circumstances will the Comintern be in a position to mobilise the masses and lead them in their revolutionary activities and in the struggles against intervention.

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A Letter to the Editor

IN the article entitled "The Counter-Revolutionary Plots in the U.S.S.R." appearing in the issue of the *Communist International* No. 13, dated November 15, 1930, written by me, there occurs the following sentence:—

"They (the Trotskyists) recommended a policy not only directed towards increasing pressure on the kulaks (in this respect they were in agreement with the whole of the Russian Communist Party), but one which simultaneously would have led to a breach between the proletariat and the main masses of the middle peasantry." (English Edition, p. 280.)

My attention has been called to the fact that the words appearing in brackets, "in this respect they were in agreement with the whole of the Russian Communist Party," are an incorrect formulation.

This formulation, of course, represents a gross mistake, distorting the real relation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the struggle with kulakism. In the period when the Trotskyists, who had already gone over to the counter-revolution, put forward the slogan of intensified attack on the kulak, this was a mere phrase. In so far as the prerequisites for this were still not yet created, the Trotskyist so-called "attack on the kulak" was destined to inevitable collapse and could only lead to the victory of the counter-revolution. It was thus a counter-revolutionary slogan. At the same time, the Trotskyist slogan of a decisive attack against the kulak was not only not connected, as in the Party, with the development of the collective and Soviet farm movement, but, on the contrary, was derived from a purely Menshevist lack of confidence in the possibility of socialisation of peasant economy, of a Socialist transformation, and from lack of faith in the possibility of building Socialism in one country.

All this, of course, was very well known to me. I myself had repeatedly written on the subject. In particular, I developed this in detail in the columns of the *Communist International* in a leading article—"The last journey of the opposition"—where I refuted the Trotskyist counter-revolutionary "lie, making out that the Central Committee of the Party at the present time (at the time of the Fifteenth Congress) is compelled to abandon the line of the Fourteenth Congress and to

steal the platform of the opposition." (See *Communist International*, December 2nd, 1927.)

Thus, the words cited at the beginning of this letter were on my part simply an unfortunate lapse, a simplification, due exclusively to haste (I was compelled to edit and issue this particular number alone as other comrades of the Editorial Board were away). This, of course, is not put forward in justification of the mistake made.

A. MARTYNOV.

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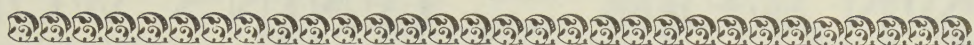
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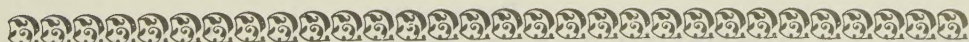
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